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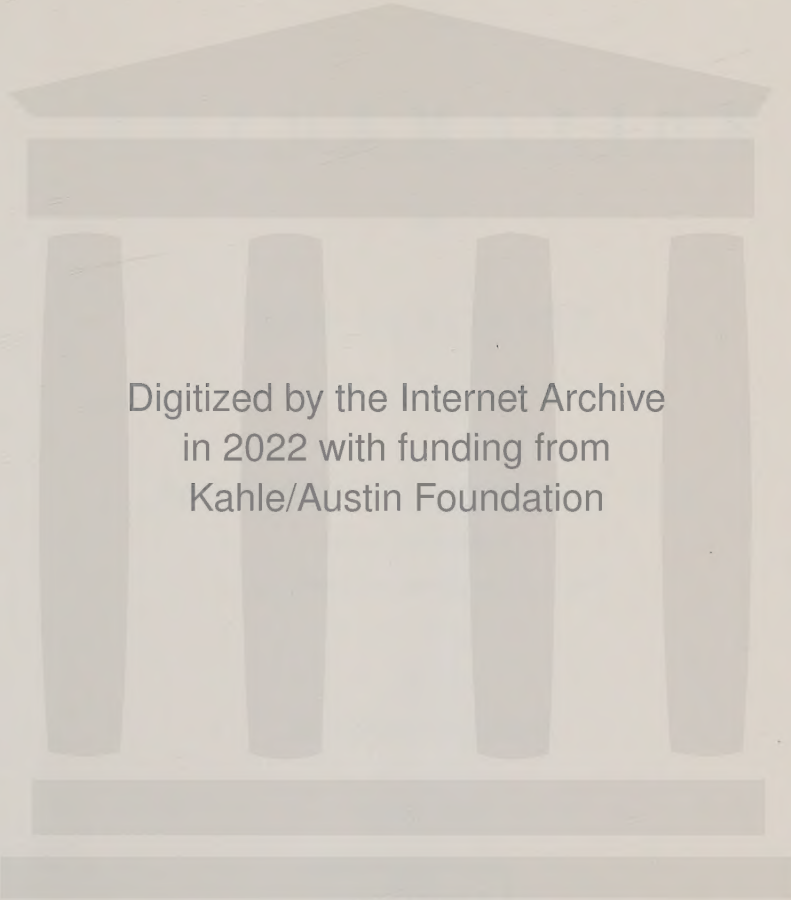
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A
HISTORY
OF THE
R E F O R M A T I O N
ON
THE CONTINENT.

By GEORGE WADDINGTON, D.D.,

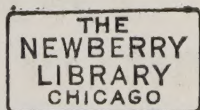
DEAN OF DURHAM,

AND AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

V. 3

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.



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ERRATA TO VOL. III.

Page 40, line 2, *for the, read that.*

Page 72, line 36, *for have, read had.*

Page 90, line 25, *for they, read it.*

Page 91, line 23, *for was, read were.*

Page 170, Note, *for affizii, read uffizii.*

„ *for invilili, read inviliti.*

„ *for chi, read che.*

Page 183, line 8, *for its, read his.*

Page 204, Note, *for erigere, read exigere.*

Page 251, line 31, *for Saxony, read Savoy.*

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

Varieties in the origin of the Anabaptists—general notion pervading them all—claims to preternatural communications—the re-baptism of their converts—substance of their opinions—mutual hostility between them and the Reformers—disputation at Worms—seven propositions of Cautius—at Basle with Œcolampadius—with Zwingle—their violence and expulsion from Zurich—they make many converts—Luther writes against them—his letters to Hesse and Link—remarks on their persecution and constancy under it—they gain a footing at Munster—John of Leyden—win over the Reformers—and get entire possession of the city—their conduct—appoint a Senate—plunder the churches—expel their opponents—proclaim community of property—burn all books except the Bible—death of the chief prophet Matthias—succeeded by John of Leyden—destruction of the churches—appointment of twelve judges—enactment of the law of polygamy, which is generally obeyed—John assumes the title of king—the book of their church—the restitution—their missionaries—Munster besieged and taken—John made prisoner, and after retracting his doctrines, executed—remarks—observations of Luther upon the transactions of Munster.

THE death of Munzer and the destruction or dispersion of his miserable followers did not extinguish the sect, of which he is usually considered as the founder—usually, but not properly; for various descriptions of fanatics sprang up in various countries at nearly the same time, and though they presently assumed, or acquired, the

common name of Anabaptist and professed too some opinions in common, yet in their origin they were entirely independent, not only of Munzer, or any other individual, but also of each other. They proceeded, indeed, in one sense, from the same source. There had long prevailed in every part of Christendom, and chiefly among the lowest classes, a latent impression, that the church of Rome could scarcely be the church of Christ; that some more perfect manifestation of His glory upon earth might presently be expected; and that this new church would be the pure assembly of His saints, unblemished by any stain of unrighteousness, unfettered by any institutions of human polity. The extreme ignorance of the great mass of the people fitted them to receive these vain notions; which were very general, of course with many modifications, when Luther and Zwingli raised the standard of insurrection. All, who were opposed, on any principle or from any interest, to the domination of Rome, rallied, in the first instance, round that standard; and those, whose understandings were informed by any light of knowledge or sense, adhered to it. But the men of uninstructed minds and heated imaginations soon began to complain, that the views of those Reformers were too narrow, and their spirit too cold and languid. There was too much reason in their words and proceedings, too little fancy and enthusiasm. Consequently, taking courage from the success, which attended even such lukewarm exertions, they no longer concealed their long cherished assurance of the coming kingdom of Christ, but began freely to proclaim *this* as the only true doctrine, as the only foundation of any real restoration of the church.

These men were of course fanatics. The leaders claimed the gift of immediate inspiration, the privilege of direct and frequent intercourse with the Deity; and

their followers believed them. They had their visions and revelations of the past and of the future, and all those other implements of preternatural agency, which exert such irresistible control over the uneducated vulgar. Thus their numbers increased with great rapidity; and they followed everywhere, though everywhere disclaimed and rejected, in the train of the Reformation. These people professed in different places somewhat different notions. There was, however, one principle universally acknowledged by them: That all proselytes to their church must be *re-baptized* on admission: hence their name. Their general objection to the doctrine of infant baptism was indeed among the earliest of their religious scruples, and is to be found in all the formularies of their faith. But it seems probable that the practice existed with the greater part of them previously to the formal profession of the distinctive doctrine—the more so, when we consider how slightly their origin was connected with any exercise of reason, how merely visionary were their first propounded views, how low and illiterate the earliest of their reputed leaders.

We have already mentioned the pretensions and opinions proclaimed by Munzer. Comparing these with such other confessions as the Anabaptists afterwards published, at various times and places, we may perhaps consider the following as a summary of their doctrine, embracing only such tenets as were professed by the very great majority of their body:

That the true church or kingdom of Christ, over which He will preside on earth before the last day, would consist of His saints only, and be spotless; that that kingdom was already begun in the church of the Anabaptists; that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil; that the body and blood of Christ were not essential in the Lord's Supper; that the outward word or sign or

sacrament was not the eternal word of God, but only a testimony of the inner word; that God still continued to reveal His will by dreams and visions; that all oaths were unlawful; that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that the satisfaction of Christ was of no avail unless men walked in his footsteps and performed his commandments; that all usury, tithes, and tributes should be abolished; that there was no need of ministers and pastors, since it was lawful to every Christian to preach the gospel; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were entirely useless. The duty of polygamy was inculcated and practised (as we shall presently see) by the Anabaptists of Munster; they held besides a false opinion respecting the Incarnation; and it was further imputed to them that they maintained the freedom of the human will, and refused absolution to the lapsed sinner. Other tenets may have been professed by particular congregations, or the same expressed in somewhat different terms. But the above appears to have been the substance of the doctrinal peculiarities generally proclaimed by the sect.*

While the Anabaptists, on the one hand, regarded as very defective and carnal the principles and proceedings of the Reformers, and perceived a mere shade of distinction between the abominations of the Pope and those of Luther; the Reformers, on the other, were not at all better affected towards them, than they were towards the papists, or than the papists were towards both. They

* In the History of Brandt it is mentioned, that many Anabaptists were charged with the error of the Arians; and that the monks imputed that error to the writings of Erasmus. Unhappy Erasmus! he, to whose moderation even "the Lutheran Tragedy" was so terrible, as almost to drive him into ultra-papacy, that he should be accused by the ultra-papists of having fomented in any manner the naked madness of the Anabaptists! This it is to be temperate in periods of passion.

had this additional reason for their hatred—the Roman Catholics perceived the advantage that these extravagant and dangerous doctrines gave them in their contest with the Lutherans: for it was easy to impute to the latter all the enormities of their brother insurgents; or, if that calumny should fail, to derive from them a plausible argument against the very name of reformation—such are the monsters (they said) which spring up, so soon as any venture to stray away from the fold of the true shepherd. Thus it is that we observe the chiefs of the Reformation severally disclaiming and contending against those sectarians; while the Diets of Spires and Augsburg, on other religious subjects so discordant, agreed in the proscription of the Anabaptists with perfect unanimity.

In 1527, only two years after the defeat of Munzer, we learn that these fanatics were found in considerable force at Worms, in Silesia, Bavaria, Swabia, Switzerland. At Worms one Cautius published seven Articles*—very

* It is worth while to cite those Articles, as being one authentic expression of the leading doctrinal peculiarities of the Anabaptists:—

1. Verbum quod eloquimur, audimus, scribimus, non est vivum et æternum Dei Verbum, sed tantum testimonium et signum interni, ut externo etiam satisfiat.

2. Nullum externum Verbum vel signum vel sacramentum, nulla etiam externa promissio ejus est efficacia, ut internum hominem consolari et confirmare possit.

3. Pædobaptismus non est a Deo, sed diserte contra Deum et Dei doctrinam per J. C. Filium ejus propositam.

4. In Cena Domini non est essentielle Corpus et Sanguis Christi.

5. Quicquid in Veteri Adamo cecidit et mortuum est, id in secundo Adamo, Jesu Christo, longe abundantius resurget et revivescet, idque ordine justo.

6. Jesus Christus Nazarena nulla alia ratione pro nobis passus est et satisfecit, nisi insistamus vestigiis ejus, et quam ille trivit eamus vitam, et mandata Patris obsequamur, perinde ut Filius, quisque sua mensura: qui sicut de Christo loquatur, sentit, aut credit is ex Christo idolum facit: id

similar to those above recorded,—and undertook their defence. The disputants who assailed him were not Papists, but Reformers. The Papists stood aloof, indifferent spectators of the strife; and Cochläus lost not so favourable an occasion to exhort the Consul and Senate of Worms to abandon a heresy thus rent and lacerated, and to return to the peaceful bosom of the universal church.

In the course of the same year, Œcolampadius held a disputation with the Anabaptists at Basle on various points, of which the principal were Infant Baptism, Oaths and Civil Government. Zwingli had been much earlier confronted with them. In 1524 some of them came to that Reformer, and reproved him, with great seriousness and solemnity, for the dilatory and lukewarm manner in which he conducted the affairs of Christ's kingdom. They observed, that the promised time was now arrived and that the spirit demanded a more ardent zeal, without which there was no hope of salvation; and a formal separation among the citizens would become necessary to distinguish the pure church, consisting of the genuine sons of God.

Zwingli replied to them with much kindness: that such a schism was in itself unnecessary and could not be reckoned among the works of the spirit; that a spotless and perfect church was scarcely to be expected in this world; and that it would be a holier office in them to separate their flocks from the works of darkness, than from the communion of their fellow citizens. Then, in excuse for their proposed secession, they

quo domnes Doctores Theologi et Pseudo-evangelici cum toto mundo faciunt.

7. Ut externus esus de pomo vetito neque Adamo neque posteris ejus nocuisset, nisi accessisset interna edendi cupiditas: ita, sine interna obedientia et summa cupiditate æternæ voluntati obtemperandi, corporalis J. C. passio non est vera satisfactio et reconciliatio cum Patre.

pleaded their objection to the received doctrine of infant baptism, as an invention of Pope Nicholas II., suggested by Satan. This led to some warmth of discussion; and then the senate, perceiving the danger of an impending schism, appointed a public disputation between Zwingle and the chiefs of the seceders for Jan. 17, 1525. It was held and renewed on the 10th of the following March with no effect.

Meanwhile the Anabaptists exhibited their spirit after a fashion more congenial to them, than any attempt at reasoning. They paraded the streets in tumultuous procession; and having cast aside their zones and girded their loins, in imitation of Jonas and the ancient prophets, they ran from place to place and prophesied that the city must be swallowed up within a few days: Woe to Zurich! woe, woe! Repent ye! for the axe is laid at the root of the tree . . . * Then the government discovered the proper limits of forbearance. Men, who by their practice as well as doctrine renounced the duty of civil obedience and insulted the public tranquillity, became objects of public animadversion. Accordingly, some were imprisoned, others fined, others exiled; but it does not appear that any unnecessary severity was employed. Soon afterwards Zwingle published a "Confutation of the Catabaptists,"† addressed to all the ministers of the Gospel; and then a Treatise on Baptism, dedicated to the senate and people of St. Gal. These works were both written with great ability, and exposed, with perhaps no exaggeration, that seditious spirit which distinguished this unfortunate sect from other, not less absurd, but less dangerous enthusiasts.

* Gerdesius, *Histor. Evangel. Renov.*, t. i. § 126. Melchior Adam, *Vita Zwinglii*.

† "Elenchus adversus Catabaptistas"—a term of opprobrium which the Reformers fixed on the Anabaptists and continued generally to apply to them.

Nevertheless, in the actual religious excitement and the confusion both in conduct and in principles at that time necessarily prevalent, there were not wanting many converts even to a persecuted sect. In 1527 we find Zwingle deploring this, in terms of great moderation and sense, in a letter to Conrad Somius, evangelist of Ulm: "It afflicts me that the faithful are thus led astray by the Catabaptists. But be of good cheer; they will return if rightly treated. Their seducers are vagabonds. They get round poor women, and men too, and squeeze out of them anything that they may have laid by. Thus they want nothing; but neither can they remain long anywhere, since they are safe nowhere. . . . They will have this effect—they will somewhat retard the work of Christ, but they will bring nothing substantial to maturity. For those who desert to them are abandoned and profligate persons; and, when they discover that the adventure does not succeed, they forsake the connexion, and then take upon them to contend, that the whole revelation of Christ is a mere fable."

At the same time the government persisted in enforcing its edicts; and one Felix Mangius, who continued, nevertheless, to rebaptize his converts, was cast by its order (on Jan. 5, 1527) into the river, where he perished. In advancing to his fate he was animated with the martyr's intrepidity, and returned thanks to God for permitting him to bear witness to the truth by his death.

In like manner, a disputation was held at Augsburg during this year between the Reformers and Anabaptists, by order of the senate. It terminated in the condemnation of the latter, of whom a hundred persons of both sexes were seized and visited with various degrees of severity.

The Saxon divines displayed their zeal in this cause as earnestly as those of Switzerland. In the beginning

of 1528, Luther wrote a somewhat celebrated letter in confutation of their errors, mainly directed to the question of infant baptism. In this composition, after expressing some indignation that one Balthazar Hubmeier, a chief of the sect, had insinuated its close alliance with his own church, and boasting that electoral Saxony was unstained either by that or the sacramentarian heresy, he proceeded to condemn the cruelty with which the persons of the offenders were treated in the *pontifical* states. In the course of his subsequent argument, he maintained the doctrine that the souls of infants were actually imbued with the necessary faith, wrought within them by God in an inscrutable manner; and the same was defended by Melancthon, in a tract, which he wrote about the same time, on the same subject.*

To the honour of Luther be it recorded, that he discouraged any direct interference, for the civil punishment of these fanatics, on the part of the evangelical clergy. In a letter, of Jan. 27, 1528, to John Hess of Breslau he wrote: "The same things are going on in Bavaria; the Anabaptists can be restrained neither by fire nor sword; they desert wives, children, families and possessions. Thus Satan rages in this, as it were, the last hour. It is my opinion that you should not betray them to the government: they will betray themselves, and then the senate will expel them from the city. There is still lingering among them all the spirit of Munzer, concerning the destruction of the impious and the earthly reign of the saints. Thus too Cellarius prophesies in a book just published—the whole of that spirit is seditious."

On the 14th of the July following, in answer to a question proposed to him by Link, whether it were lawful for the authorities to put to death the false prophets,

* Seckendorf. lib. ii. sect. 13, § 40.

Luther affirmed that it was not; but his reasons were those of expediency, not of justice or mercy. "They deserve death; but the precedent would be dangerous, and might be turned against the innocent. We might have such consequences from this example, as we see in the papists and the Jews before Christ; among whom the statute for the execution of false prophets was, in process of time, perverted to the destruction of holy prophets and innocent men. The same, I fear, might happen among us. . . . Wherefore I can by no means admit that false teachers should be put to death; it is enough to banish them; and if posterity shall think proper to abuse this punishment, their sin will be less and they will hurt none but themselves. . . ."*

In spite, however, of any more moderate counsels, which the leading divines may through prudence or charity have suggested, the Anabaptists were visited from every quarter with the severest inflictions. Doubtless among their principles there were some, which tended to the overthrow of social order; and among those, who professed those principles, many were deliberately prepared to enforce them. Such men deserved their fate. But mixed with them were many pious and well-intentioned enthusiasts, who were victims to a vague desire for some purer form of Christianity. And in the enmity, which both the great religious parties bore against them, it was not probable that they would be judged or sentenced with any nice discrimination. In many instances, the mere heresy was held sufficient for their condemnation; and many among them perished, not because they were convicted of any seditious practice or design, but because their creed was stigmatised with error.

* "Satis est eos relegari; qua poena si posterius abuti volent, mitius tamen peccabunt et sibi tantum nocebunt. . . ."

Meanwhile they bore their sufferings with almost unusual resolution. Neither threats, nor the description, nor the very spectacle, of each other's martyrdom, moved them to retractation, or the show of fear. And they persisted in the defence of their fanciful absurdities with exactly the same constancy, or triumph, or joy, which marked the devotion of the earliest and best among the manifold denominations of victims, who have shed their innocent blood in the name of Christ.

The political effect of the decrees, so generally enforced against the Anabaptists, was to prevent their assembling anywhere in great numbers, so as to endanger seriously the public tranquillity. It was in most cases the object of the authorities to disperse rather than to destroy them, and in this they were for a certain time successful. During the eight years, which followed the death of Munzer, we do not read of any very important outbreak, or of any attempt made by large bodies to overthrow the institutions of society. Scattered in parties over the greater part of Europe, especially of Germany, they were everywhere suspected and repelled, and there was not yet any town or province, in which they had obtained an establishment, or indeed in which they had secured a refuge. At length they acquired that advantage; but they acquired it in such a manner, and applied it to such a purpose, as only to aggravate and justify the general distrust and hatred which attended their name.

Munster, one of the principal cities of Westphalia, remained until the year 1532 in the uninterrupted profession of the ancient religion. At that time an evangelical preacher, named Bernard Rothman, gained a footing there, and was presently followed by multitudes of the middle and lower classes. The attention of the government was awakened. A public disputation was pro-

claimed. The Roman Catholics refused to defend their opinions; their churches were immediately transferred to the Reformers; and some tumults, which followed, terminated in a compromise to the advantage of the latter. Thus matters rested in February, 1533; when John Boekholt, a young and violent Anabaptist, commonly called John of Leyden, by trade a tailor, entered the city and immediately engaged in private controversy with the evangelical leaders. He made converts and was joined by many strangers; and these, still fearing the authorities, propagated their opinions in nocturnal meetings. When this was discovered, they were expelled; but now feeling their strength, they returned back by another road, and openly proclaimed their mission from God and their determination to perfect His work.

Rothman passed over to their party; and, though the career of Lutheran orthodoxy was manfully defended by a theological envoy of the Landgrave of Hesse, named Fabricius, and though the Senate remained faithful to that cause, still the fanatics, by the weight of numerical force and by the zeal and fury of their proceedings, were finally triumphant. They rushed about the streets and public places, as was their usage, crying out—"Repent and be baptized, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Some joined them through simplicity—many through fear. Some sanguinary conflicts took place, in which they were not defeated. Till at length their brother enthusiasts, who resided in all the neighbouring places, perceiving how much higher were the hopes of the sect at Munster than in any other quarter, and doubtless inferring that Christ had at length selected that, as the capital of His earthly kingdom, flocked thither in fearful multitudes. On this, the more reasonable portion of the population, those especially who had any possessions,

speedily withdrew their persons and such of their property as they were able, and left the city in the undisputed occupation of the Anabaptists. This took place in February, 1534.

Then came the crisis of their history. Then was applied to them the decisive test, by which posterity was to form its impartial judgment, whether, like so many other defeated sects, they had been calumniated by their persecutors, and their morality slandered in order to justify the execution of their persons, or whether they had merited their misfortunes. In adversity, they had exhibited all the Christian heroism of the most holy martyrs. They had now their moment of triumph—a field was opened for the display of their wisdom and moderation. How did they bear themselves in those circumstances? By what demeanour did they demonstrate the purity of their principles? By what acts did they signify the holiness of the spirit of which they boasted?

Their first act was in direct opposition to the most dangerous, though the most absurd, of their principles: they established a civil government. They chose a senate, of course from their own body; and appointed two consuls, one of whom, named Cnipperdolling, was a man above all others conspicuous for his phrenzy. Their next act was sacrilege—they plundered all the churches without any mercy or discrimination. And then they paraded the streets with their fanatical cry of repentance, and expelled from the city the remnant of their opponents; we do not read, however, though they are accused of some cruelty in this proceeding, that they shed any blood. They seized the property of those expelled; and then their chief prophet, one Matthias, under whose guidance these affairs had been mostly conducted, commanded the faithful to bring all their substance

to an appointed place, on pain of death, for the purpose of establishing that community of goods, which may have been the favourite doctrine with an indigent sect. Those among them, who were not wholly destitute, were astonished by this edict; but they dared not disobey. Their next proceeding was to collect together all the books existing in the city, with the single exception of the Bible, and to burn them. This principle, which was as characteristic of their ignorance as the other of their poverty, was one of those first professed by them, and introduced, as has been already related, on their earliest appearance at Wittemberg.

Matthias was presently slain in a wild and unsuccessful sally, which he made (as he said) by the special command and under the immediate direction of God. But the surviving prophets were instantly comforted by fresh revelations, which they communicated to the vulgar; and the infallibility of Matthias was soon proved as incontestably by his death, as it would have been by his victory. John of Leyden then assumed the government, and his first ordinance, under the same divine inspiration, was to effect the entire destruction of all the churches. The people performed with alacrity a work which they believed, on such authority, to be acceptable to God.

John of Leyden then retired to rest for three days; and, when he at length awakened from that holy trance, he called for paper, and appointed a senate of twelve, and commanded the government to be conducted as in ancient days in Israel. Munster now became the New Jerusalem, the habitation of the saints and prophets, the chosen place of the Saviour of the world.

His next proceeding was of a different nature. It was revealed to him by the Spirit, that he should establish in the new kingdom the law and practice of polygamy. In

this matter, however, some little difficulty arose ; and he found it necessary to enact the farce of a public disputation. There were differences among the doctors of the sect, and all, who were not absolutely senseless among the rabble which followed, exclaimed against this attempt. They even proceeded to acts of insubordination. But the multitude instantly rose and protected their prophet. The disputants decided that there was Scriptural authority for the tenet ; it was immediately established. John of Leyden sanctioned it by espousing with no delay the widow of Matthias, who shared his affections, as it is recorded, with fourteen other wives. His example was eagerly followed ; and the new law grew into so much honour, that plurality of wives soon came to be considered a proof of zeal and affection for the immaculate kingdom of Christ.

Meanwhile, as the Prince of Peace was not yet visible upon earth, John of Leyden devoutly undertook to represent Him. Accordingly, he caused a newly inspired prophet, a goldsmith, to assemble the multitude in the Forum, and to relate to them the revealed will of his heavenly father : That John of Leyden should obtain the empire of the whole world ; that he should sally forth and overthrow all kings and princes, sparing the vulgar only, and such only among them, as were lovers of justice ; that the impious should be overthrown and the Saints reign upon earth. On hearing this proclamation, John immediately fell down on his knees, and raising his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "For many days past, my brethren, I have known this, though I was reluctant to reveal it. But God hath employed another instrument to give assurance of this truth." Thus he became a king ; and immediately he abolished his twelve judges, and created peers, and assumed a crown and

sceptre, with all the accustomed pomp and circumstance of royalty.

About this time they published the book of their church, under the name of "The Restitution." Among other matters it contained the following principles : That the kingdom of Christ on earth was commenced in themselves ; that the people had full power to abrogate all civil government ; that the actual ministers of the Church ought to assume the right of the sword, and forcibly constitute the new republic ; that Luther and the Pope were false prophets, of whom the more wicked was Luther ; that no one would be saved, who did not contribute all his property to the community ; that Christ did not assume his body from the flesh of the Virgin Mary ; that the marriage of those who were not of the true faith was harlotry and adultery, rather than marriage, &c. &c.

For the propagation of this "true faith" they sent forth eight and twenty missionaries, appointing to them their several districts. But as soon as they reached those places, and began to raise the wonted cry of repentance, and to proclaim the approaching reign of Christ, they were seized and questioned respecting their acts and doctrines. The absurdities, which they advanced in reply, were merely a sort of commentary on the doctrines of "The Restitution." They were tortured, but betrayed no weakness ; and at length, as they persisted in refusing to acknowledge any civil government, except that of their own king, they were punished with death.

Meanwhile the city was closely besieged and the reign of madness hastened to its termination. Pressed by the extremity of famine, many of the miserable inhabitants perished, many escaped from the place so emaciated, as to awaken the pity even of a religious enemy. Those who

remained, received the assurance of a perfect amnesty, if they would surrender the king with some few others. But his severity* and vigilance deterred them from the attempt; and he resolved, so long as he had any means of subsistence, to maintain his monarchy. At length on the night of June 24, 1535, through the treachery of a deserter, the besiegers gained admission within the walls. The fanatics made a very brave and for some time successful resistance, but were at length overpowered. The mercy which they implored was granted to them. Rothman was killed in the assault; but John of Leyden and Cnipperdolling fell into the hands of the victors. These two, together with another chief named Crechting, were led from place to place for the next six months, as a spectacle, not so much of triumph to the orthodox, as of humiliation and instruction to the wretches who had been deluded. Divines were sent to argue with them in their captivity, on the principal doctrines of their sect; and so convincing, under such circumstances, were their reasonings, that the king himself is represented to have yielded to them. He even promised, on condition of his own impunity, that he would bring back all his subjects, scattered in great numbers throughout Holland, Brabant, England, Frisia, to obedience to the established authorities. This offer was sufficient for the purpose of the conquerors. He was then conducted back to Munster, and in January, 1536, suffered, together with his two associates, a cruel and lingering death.†

* It is related that, when one of his wives expressed or insinuated some doubt respecting the divinity of his mission, he assembled the rest together and cut off her head with his own hands. They are said to have applauded the act of justice, and to have danced round the bleeding body.

† Gerdesius, tom. iii. § 8, et seq. See also "Antonii Corvini ad G. Spalatinnum Epist. scripta in 1536, De miserabili Anabaptistarum obsequione." Also "Warhafftige Historie, wie das Evangelium zu Münster

During the affairs of Munster, seditious attempts of a like description were made by the Anabaptists in various other quarters, but for the most part they were instantly repressed. It would be little profitable to enumerate them; still less so to detail the tedious particulars of crime or absurdity recorded of individuals or parties composing this miserable sect. Enough of their proceedings has been already related to show the character of the whole, and my notice has been confined to those, which are the proper object of history. It is sufficient to say, that in every instance the insurgents consisted of the lowest classes of the people; even among their chiefs it was rare to find any one of respectable origin, or decent education. The flattering prospect of the earthly kingdom of Christ deluded the mere enthusiasts. The hungry rabble were attracted by the promise, to them not less seductive, of community of property—and thus the sect was constituted. The sufferings, which everywhere attended its suppression, were necessary for the peace of society, and were demanded by human justice. Yet a deeper reflection on such calamities leads us to regard them only as penalties paid by the community for the ignorance or delusions of the great mass of its members—ignorance permitted by the jealousy or contempt of the ruling powers; delusions fostered from no better motives—and of which, the consequences, though they do sometimes burst with a terrible vengeance upon the higher classes, for the most part and by the forbearance of a retributive Providence descend upon the multitude—upon those, whose education has been neglected, whose prejudices have been en-

angefangen und darnach durch die Widdertäuffer widder aufgehört hat.” By Henry Dorpius of Munster, A.D. 1536. *Autographa Reformatorum*. Both these seem fair accounts. That of Corvinus, who was an eye-witness of the execution of the king and his accomplices, is especially marked by a religious and humane spirit.

couraged, whose best natural principles have been corrupted, in the notion that they would thus become more obsequious subjects to Church and State. There can be no security against such convulsions, except in the general intelligence of the people. The government, which would refuse such light, holds but a trembling balance between despotism and anarchy; and though for a while it may turn away the tempest from itself, yet the blood of the sufferers is not unseen from above; and a long and fearful account must yet be rendered up by those, whom God has appointed to preside over the destinies of His creatures.

This account cannot be better concluded than by a specimen of the remarks elicited from Luther by the memorable transactions at Munster.*

“In what language shall I lament and deplore those abandoned men? The fact itself proves that the place is a nest of cacodæmons. Yet have we reason to celebrate the infinite mercy of God. For though Germany deserves, for its contempt of the Gospel and its insults on God’s name and the blood of holy men which it has shed, the severest inflictions of the Lord, yet He still restrains the violent assaults of Satan and checks his career and mercifully admonishes us, by this real tragedy of Munster, and warns us to amend our lives. For that subtle spirit would choose a very different method to attain his purposes, were he not checked by God; while under this restraint his rage is moderated within prescribed boundaries. A spirit, which designs the overthrow of the faith, will not bring about its work by the introduction of polygamy. For the wickedness of the thing is manifest to all, and it meets merely with men’s abhorrence. Civil government may indeed be disturbed

* “Auf die neue Zeitung von Münster, D. M. Lutherus.”

by such means, but the kingdom of Christ must be assailed with very different weapons.

“The spirit that would seduce the world must not aim at rule and dominion, and seize the sword, and afflict the tyrant. This is gross, and all perceive the drift of it; he must advance to his end by more obscure and artful paths. To adopt a mean obsolete costume, to compose the countenance to austerity, to fast, to fix the eyes upon the ground, to refrain from the touch of money, to abstain from meat, to fly from matrimony as from poison, to hold all civil authority as profane, to cast away the sword and profess contempt for dignities—this is the way to creep towards the sceptre and the keys, and gain stealthy possession of them—this is the method by which even the wise and spiritual may be circumvented. This is a beautiful devil, with plumage more splendid than any peacock or pheasant. But thus impudently to seize the crown, to take not one wife only, but as many as caprice or lust demands: oh, it is a mere boy devil, a devil at his A, B, C, a school-deviling, who has not learnt his alphabet—or rather it is the right well-instructed devil, only bound by God’s hands with chains so heavy as to hold him motionless. It is for our warning, to prepare us for the coming of a more subtle devil, who will attack us no longer with his A, B, C, but with the real hard text. And if this deviling at his letters can do such things, what will he not do when he comes to be an intelligent, knowing, instructed, lawyer-like, theological devil? . . .”* He concluded by recommending the word of God as the only remedy against

* “Aber so unverschämpt nach der Kröne greiffen. . . . ah, das ist entweder ein junger a. b. c. Teuffel, oder schul Teuffelin und noch nicht recht Buchstaben kan. . . . Denn that er solches, so er ein grammatisches Teuffelin seyn mus, was sol er thun können, wenn er ein vernünffniger, weyser, gelehrter, juristischer, theologischer Teuffel sein künd? . . .”

such calamities ; by censuring the princes and prelates who opposed its free circulation, and by confuting the doctrinal errors and ridiculous pretensions of the Anabaptists.

This composition is very characteristic of its author, both as an evidence of his general sagacity and good sense, and also as dwelling, and even refining, upon that diabolical agency with which his mind was so constantly impressed, that there is not a book or tract, scarcely an epistle, from his pen wherein some allusion is not made to it.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FROM THE SECOND DIET OF SPIRES TO THE DIET OF
AUGSBURG.—CHARLES IN ITALY.

Appeal and deputation of the Protestants to the Emperor—Charles determined to support the church—consults his council—resolution taken by him—his arrival in Italy—his ill reception of the Protestant deputation—various meetings among the Protestants in 1529—at Rotach, Schwabach, Zerst, Smalcald, Torgau—question as to union with the Sacramentaries—principles of Luther—his policy—his deep religious feelings—extract from a letter to the Elector—conference of Marburg and subsequent meetings of the Protestants—meeting between the Emperor and Pope at Bologna—council on the affairs of the church—speech of Gattinara—reply of the Pope—answer of Charles—remarks on this debate—subsequent private negotiations—in which the Emperor urges the immediate convocation of a council and the Pope dissuades it—which ends in a compromise, that the Diet should be summoned at Augsburg—edict of convocation.

IMMEDIATELY after the dissolution of the Diet of Spire, the Protestant chiefs, willing to avert the threatened calamities, assembled to deliberate at Nuremberg. There they drew up an appeal of justification to the Emperor, and it received (on May 27) nearly the same signatures which had been affixed to the Protest. In their accustomed tone of respectful determination, they reasserted in this document the new principles laid down at Spire, the sacred rights of conscience and the freedom of the few from the control of the many, on matters pertaining to their salvation. They expressed in a few clear sentences their own view of the origin of the Reformation, ascribing it to the more general knowledge of the Scriptures and the consequent discovery of numerous errors

and abuses, which had indeed some plea in antiquity, but which were not the less false and scandalous from being ancient. They represented, that the states of the empire could suggest no other means of restoring peace, than the convocation of a free council; that the Emperor approved of that expedient, and therefore that it was a mockery, before the assembling of such a council, to condemn and persecute either party; that the Protestants would never yield to violence, nor to any other authority, except the manifest evidence of Scripture; that the errors of the church had been admitted by Pope Adrian himself; that the Edict of Worms could not possibly be enforced, because, whatever the rulers might attempt, the people were now too well enlightened to submit to it; that the Emperor might count upon their loyal obedience in all matters, excepting only those which related to religion. This remonstrance, and together with it a copy of the epistle of Adrian to the Diet of Nuremberg, they committed to the charge of three deputies, to be immediately presented to the Emperor. Those agents were not indeed discreetly selected, nor so as to give any dignity, or secure any favour, to the mission. They were persons of no rank or consideration in the empire, and one of them, the burgomaster of Memmingen, was positively exceptionable through his marriage with a nun. They set out, however, on their embassy.

Meanwhile, every act of Charles's policy showed his intention to support the church. His treaties with the Pope (June 20) and with Francis (August 5) contained secret articles, pledging him to the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy. He renewed and confirmed a decree to the same effect, which he had published in Spain three years before; and he caused to be issued at Brussels (on the 14th of October) an edict against all buyers, sellers, readers, and printers of the offensive books, in

which very heavy penalties were denounced against any who should entertain persons suspected, or should themselves, even in their private conversations, so much as whisper any religious scruples.*

Yet with all this he was not so entirely abandoned to the papal interests as would appear from these measures. That he might take a firm resolution on this part of his policy before he departed for Italy, he formally consulted his cabinet as to the most advisable means of suppressing the religious revolt. There were two opinions: the high ecclesiastical party maintained, as usual, that every innovation was dangerous, that every concession was impolitic, and that the only remedy for the existing evil was the armed hand of power. But there were others who argued more moderately, that, as abuses did notoriously exist, it was the better wisdom to correct them; since it was clear that they would be endured no longer, and that, if not removed by the authority of the Pope and the princes, they would be presently rooted up in defiance of it. Charles inclined to the latter counsel. He saw no expedient for the pacification of Germany so promising as a general council, and he embarked, with this conviction, to receive his crown at the pontifical hands.

Such then were his resolutions—to extinguish the heresy, but at the same time to amend, by a constitutional reformation, the abuses on which it was founded—when the deputies from Nuremberg presented themselves before him. They found him at Placentia; he had not yet reached the papal states, nor engaged in any personal communication with the Pope. On the 21st of September he admitted them, though with little courtesy, to an audience. They shortly explained the object

* Scultet. Ann. Evangel. ann. 1529, p. 247, ed. Heidel.

of their mission, and laid before him the protest of Spires, together with the letter of Adrian and the Hundred Grievances of Germany. He promised them a written answer, and on the 13th of October he delivered it by his secretary Schweiss; it was to this effect:—

That the Emperor, deploring the divisions of Germany, gave his entire approbation to the late Edict of Spires, as an instrument for the repression of sectarian innovation and for the concord of the empire; that he deeply lamented the dissent of the Protestants; that a council was equally desired by all parties, not least so by himself; but that it would not have been necessary, had the statutes of the empire, and that of Worms most especially, been observed; that on these occasions the minority ought to yield obedience to the larger and the better portion; that the Elector and the princes of his party had already been commanded to execute the decree under pain of the imperial displeasure; that this was essential for the union of Germany against the Turks; and that he should presently descend into that country with all his forces for the purpose of protecting it from invasion.

On receiving this reply the deputies read to the secretary the remonstrance, committed to them at Nuremberg, and delivered a copy of it for the information of the Emperor. He was much irritated by this freedom, and even placed them under confinement; but after a few days they were set at liberty, and two of them were allowed to return to Germany. The third, named Kaden, who was the representative of the Landgrave, was detained some little time longer; but he too found means to escape to his country, and the great Roman Catholic historian seems to take pride in the forbearance of Charles, that he violated the laws of nations and the

sacred character of ambassadors with so much moderation.*

Meanwhile the Protestant States, informed of the measures that Charles had already taken, and foreseeing the blow that he was meditating, took counsel together during the summer and autumn for the formation of an alliance. The Landgrave of Hesse was the most earnest and active in this endeavour, and for its effectual success, even as a measure of defence, he strongly urged the great expediency of including the Sacramentaries in the proposed treaty. But the Elector, supported by the Margrave of Brandenburg, hesitated. It was in vain that the Landgrave, in two letters written on the 17th and 19th of July, essayed to overcome his scruples. He pleaded, that every difference was not sufficient to justify a separation; that that which divided them from their brother-reformers was not essential; that it might be healed with little difficulty, and that he trusted to be himself the means of healing it. At any rate, in their mutual liability to error, some indulgence should be shown to those involved in it: while it was assuredly cruel to exclude from alliance, through a single doctrinal defect, cities of great consideration and zealous in the service of the Reformation.

No fewer than three meetings took place in the course of the summer of 1529 on this subject. Soon after the recess of Spires the Elector and Landgrave made a preliminary engagement with the cities of Strasburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm; on which they agreed to consult further, in the month of June, inviting the Duke of Brunswick and the Margrave of Brandenburg to assist at their deliberations. They met accordingly at Rotach,

* Pallavicino, lib. ii. cap. xviii.

in the territory of Coburg. But there the Elector's envoy appeared, with an express instruction to confer with the Nurembergers only; as the other two cities were suspected of the Sacramentarian opinions. Accordingly there was no result, and the congress was further adjourned to the 24th of August, when it was to be re-assembled at Schwabach.

Meanwhile, a conference took place on August 7, at Zerbst, in which Eric of Brunswick, the Bishop of Osnabrück, and Henry Duke of Mecklenburg, took part—but with no alteration in the policy adopted at Rotach. The next assembly was at Schwabach; and there it was more formally and deliberately decided, that unity on the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist was essential to any religious alliance among Christians. A profession of faith was accordingly drawn up and signed by the Lutheran party; and, having been read at the first session of the assembly, was declared to be the test of evangelical truth and the symbol of the proposed alliance. It was composed by Luther and his associates; and, after being subsequently presented at Smalcald and Torgau, became the basis of the confession of Augsburg.*

The Landgrave, who had opposed these restrictions with all his power, was so little able to comprehend the principle on which they stood, as to fall into the unworthy suspicion, that the Elector was meditating an act of treachery. Some communication, which the latter had lately held with Ferdinand, confirmed that supposition. Accordingly, he addressed to him on the 14th of September a still more decided despatch, requesting an immediate and direct reply.† At the same time he inti-

* Marhein. T. ii. kap. 13.

† "Will sich Ew. Lbd. nun gegen den Kaiser wehren, so er uns davon dringen will, so schreib mirs Ew. Lbd.; wolt er euch nicht wehren und leiden, oder darvon abfallen, als ich zu Gott nicht hoffe, so schreib

mated that, if he should be deserted by the Elector, he should apply to other resources, and take different means to provide for his safety. On the 23rd the Elector returned a very calm and dignified reply, containing some strong declarations of his own integrity. But these were by no means satisfactory to the Landgrave, since they were neutralised by the expression of great doubts as to the lawfulness of any opposition to the Emperor on religious grounds; and the writer seemed indeed disposed to maintain, that, to employ any earthly weapons in defence of the word of God, would be nothing less than a violation of that word.

The Elector acted in this delicate conjuncture on the counsel of Luther. To his great theologian he had recourse in his perplexity; he received the most decided instructions, and he followed them. The question was twofold: Whether any confederacy against the Emperor for a religious object could be justified? Whether such confederacy could without impiety include the Sacramentaries? In both cases Luther at various times maintained the negative with his accustomed confidence.

In respect to the former, he so exalted the imperial prerogative, as to maintain that the subjects of individual princes were bound by a still stronger allegiance to the Emperor;* and that it was not lawful for any one to

mirs Ew. Lbd. und was ich mich zu Ew. Lbd. veströsten soll, so ich überzogen würde: denn es will die nothdurf erfodern, dass einer weiss, was er sich zum andern zu veströsten weiss, &c. &c. . . ." Apud Marhein. T. ii. kap. xiii.

* "So sind ja aller Fürsten unterthan auch des Kaisars unterthan, je mehr denn den Fürsten. . . ." Bedenken of March 6, 1530. Brennius, in a treatise published in the preceding winter, carried the principles of obedience still farther, and was immediately confuted by the lawyers, who were in this instance the guardians of the constitutional independence. The principal compositions of Luther on this subject are—A letter to the Elector written on May 22, 1529 (No. 1104), which had been

protect by force the subjects of the Emperor against the Emperor, who was their lord. At the same time, however, he conceded, that if the Emperor should expressly command the princes to persecute their own subjects for religion's sake, they would be justified in refusing obedience. He held too, and perhaps with more reason, that the proposed alliances were not yet necessary; that the Catholics would not dare to make any aggression; and that the Providence, which had hitherto extended to the faithful its manifest protection, would assuredly not desert them, so long as their foremost and dearest object should continue to be what it had been—God and his kingdom.

The arguments, by which he rejected the connexion with the Sacramentaries, were such as these: That, as religion was the basis of the proposed treaty, and the defence of the truth its object, it would be nothing less than impiety to include in it any, who were notoriously infected with an essential error, and who refused to correct that error: That it was a single defect in doctrine, which caused the expulsion of Arius from the Catholic church: That the very willingness, so constantly expressed by the Sacramentaries, to retract their opinion on scriptural proof, was alone sufficient evidence of their insincerity (a strange argument from Luther's pen!): and that, so far from forming any such alliance, the Protestant princes should rather make it a boast to the Emperor, that they had repudiated, not only the abuses of the Roman church, but all the errors of Anabaptists, Sacramentaries, and other fanatics.

The principle of abstaining from all communion with any whom we may consider in error, is at least intelligi-

preceded by a "Gutachten" in the name of himself and his colleagues; another on Nov. 18, 1529 (No. 1170); and a third on March 6, 1530 (No. 1191).

ble. But it is remarkable that Luther, usually so bold in the assertion of his principles, was not prepared to carry this to its full length. For the Lutherans to have leagued with the Sacramentaries would, in his mind, have been offensive to God; though they might have banded themselves with the Roman Catholics, against the Turkish arms, with no reproach of impiety. For thus he wrote to Amsdorf, on the 27th of the following October:—"As to your inquiry, whether our prince may safely combine with people irreligious and enemies of the word, it is our opinion that he may—because in this case our common defence is concerned. It would be otherwise, if the expedition were offensive, or if the struggle were not begun. If the house of any profane man were in flames, you would quench the flames; if your enemy were an hungred, you would feed and assist him—even to a foe in necessity you are bound to offer benefits. . . ." These are Christian principles; these are sentiments flowing from the better portion of Luther. Yet, if it were so profane a project to combine with a party of brother-reformers, men of intelligence, learning, faith and perfect integrity of purpose, against an unrelenting enemy,* polluted (as Luther thought) with all antichristian impieties and blasphemies, and this through the obstacle of a single difference; it could scarcely be innocent to confederate with that stigmatised monster, cut off from communion by a thousand differences, on the vague and somewhat suspicious plea of

* Luther writes to Probst on Nov. 10, 1529 (No. 1168): "*Ad hæc mala accidit, quod Carolus Cæsar multo atrocius minatur et sævire statuit in nos quam Turca. Sic utrumque Cæsarem habemus hostem*—It is one additional evil, that the Emperor Charles is far more atrocious and savage in his threats and resolutions against us, than is the Turk. Thus have we both Emperors for enemies."

mutual protection. If the argument had any weight in the one case, it had force irresistible in the other.

Yet, though his principles were wrong in this matter, it is very possible that his policy, as to the general question at issue, was right. Unless it were quite clear that the result of the projected coalition would be to prevent, rather than to provoke, the aggression of the Emperor, it was extremely unwise in the Protestant party to project it. Their advantage was in peace. All their hopes of steady progress and final stability were fixed in the gradual operation of reason against prejudice and prescription. They wanted time for the wider diffusion of scriptural knowledge and religious education. Their proper weapons were entirely intellectual, and the moment most baneful to their prospects would be that, which should unsheathe the temporal sword. To commit the Reformation to the hazard of a battle would have been to resign all its best defences, all its peculiar strength, all its heavenly armoury, and to contend on the low ground, and with the carnal weapons, and after the sanguinary fashion, of the enemy. And if the advocates of the League did really meditate, as Scultetus has asserted,* an immediate armament, for the purpose of repelling the Emperor when he should descend to his German dominions, we may safely applaud the judgment of Luther in opposing so suicidal a project.

It should be mentioned, however, that the arguments on which he dwelt, and the hopes which he suggested, during the whole progress of these negotiations, were not so much founded on any views, however sound, of political expediency, as on a deep and earnest sense of religious obligation. The only arms, which he would consent to wear, were those of evangelical consolation

* *Annal. Evangel. ann. 1530, p. 270.* At the conference at Torgau in March.

and assurance. In the strong sense of the holiness of his cause, he felt an invincible repugnance to the interference of any earthly power—he required no human aid or cunning—his entire dependence was on God. And among other proofs of his desire to place the confidence of others where his own was fixed, it may be mentioned, that he translated about that time the 46th Psalm—“ God is our refuge”—into German verse ; and having set it to such music, as he judged likely to erect and exhilarate the downcast spirits of the people, he sent it forth to be chanted in the churches of the faithful.

The following passage in a letter from Luther to the Elector, of November 18, 1529, discovers the feelings under which he acted at that crisis :—

“ We know with certainty, we have had experience in the manifest aid which God has hitherto afforded us, that our cause is not our own cause, but the cause of God himself. That is our confidence and trust ; and therefore has He taken up the defence of his own affairs with the faithfulness of a father ; so that we are obliged to recognise a work above our skill and might, and which no sense of ours would have enabled us to accomplish. Wherefore, I do submissively beseech and exhort you, be confident and unshaken in this affair. We shall, by God’s will, perform more by prayers and supplications, than they by all their insolence. Only let us keep our hands pure from blood and crime ; and even if it should come to this, as I think it will not, that the Emperor should demand my person, or those of others ; then will we, by God’s help, come forward of ourselves, so that you shall be in no danger on our account—a declaration which I have often made to your blessed brother, my most gracious master, Frederic. If you would defend my faith, or that of any other, you cannot do it ; but let every one for himself defend his

own faith, and not another's, if it should go so far, that the Emperor should compel us to this. . . .”*

It was after the failure of his first attempts, that the Landgrave held the conference at Marburg. Again disappointed, he was not yet deterred from renewing the suspended negotiations. The Protestants assembled on the 29th of November, at Smalcald. Philip pressed upon the princes his former arguments and proposals, strengthened by the nearer appearance of danger. The Elector, still acting under the same influence, still exacting the same religious unanimity as a condition of alliance, again rejected them. The assembly then adjourned to January 6, 1530, at Nuremberg, on the understanding that those only should be present who were prepared to subscribe to the articles of Schwabach. Accordingly few attended. The imperial cities, of which the deputies had appeared at Smalcald, and who formed indeed the numerical majority of that meeting, were excluded with the single exception of Nuremberg,† by the stipulation imposed by the Lutherans; the conference was again dissolved without coming to any resolution. On this the senate and people of Strasburg, despairing of a general confederacy among the Protestant powers, formed a defensive alliance for fifteen years with the two Swiss cantons, Zurich and Basle; and this was the first political alliance, formed on religious grounds, among any of the adherents of the Reformation.

* The Landgrave's chancellor, George Bogler, replied to this, and, after trying to show that the Emperor was the natural lord of the Protestants, he urged that “whenever he attempts to rule over their faith, souls and consciences, he goes too far and usurps the prerogative of God—in which case no man is bound longer to obey either the Emperor, or those in authority under him.”

† Weinsheim, Reutlingen and Weissenberg, places of less importance, were represented by the envoy of Nuremberg. Heilbron accepted the articles, but took no part in the conference.

Another meeting of the Protestants was held in March, when the peril seemed almost imminent, with the same desperate object. But the theologians were still firm in their scruples, and those scruples still determined the policy of the Elector—so that the Landgrave, after almost a year of uninterrupted exertion, reluctantly perceived that he had not gained a single step towards the accomplishment of his object.

While this humble band of conscientious Christians was conducting its fruitless deliberations—fruitless, so far as the Elector was concerned, through the very scruples of a religious sincerity—and balancing, in its little assemblies, between its reverence for established authorities and its fears for its own safety; its powerful enemies in Italy were making a far more imposing display of majesty, if not of power. On the 5th of November, the Emperor, escorted by five-and-twenty Cardinals, who received him on the frontiers, as well as by all the nobles of his court, made his entry into Bologna. The Pope was there awaiting his arrival, and, on the news of his approach, went forth from his palace to meet him. Historians have been careful to record how, when he perceived Charles at some distance, seated under a canopy, he rose and saluted him thrice; how the Emperor in his turn fell on his knees, and in that attitude kissed his feet and hands, and then his face; and then addressed him as follows:

“I am extremely sensible, most holy Father, of this happiness, which I have so long desired, of seeing your holiness, and conversing with you on the divisions of the church and the means of ending them. For, God is my witness, I have an ardent and sincere desire to appease the troubles that disturb it, and to secure by a lasting peace its future repose and prosperity. I pray you to be persuaded, that I will defend, so long as I shall live,

the Christian faith and the Catholic church. May God prosper my designs !” The Pope in reply expressed his approbation of those sentiments ; and, in thrice saluting the Emperor, observed, with what sorrow it was, that he had permitted so great a prince to kiss his hands and his feet, but that he had no power to dispense with the usages of his predecessors.

These ceremonies were succeeded by more important matters. A grand council was presently summoned for solemn deliberation on the affairs of the church. All the magnificence of both the courts was assembled and displayed—on the one side the gorgeous parade of ecclesiastical wealth and pomp, the military pride and blazonry of the nobles of Spain and Italy on the other—and the subject to be discussed before them was that most nearly affecting the interests and the feelings of both.

Charles instructed his Chancellor, Gattinara, to expound to the Assembly, in some detail, the views and intentions of his master ; and though no copy of his discourse is extant, it is certain that he spoke to the following effect :

That the Emperor had regarded with deep affliction the dissensions, which had arisen in his days, and of which the violence appeared to be increasing rather than abating ; and that, among all the duties which Providence had imposed upon him, none was nearer to his heart, than that of restoring the tranquillity of the church ; yet, that the regulation of those matters rested for the most part with the Pope, and that his co-operation was necessary for the accomplishment of their common object ; that the maintenance of a Christian purity both in ceremony and in doctrine must be the basis of their endeavours ; that, if any errors or superstitions stained that heavenly doctrine, they should be removed ; that, if that discipline were in any way vitiated, it should be restored ;

that, if the morals of the clergy and the people were corrupted, as indeed they were, they should be reformed; in short, for the permanent re-establishment of peace and morality, that a system of Christian doctrine should be compiled, having its source in the word of God, and imposed with strictness both upon the people and their ministers. He then continued :

That his Majesty, having deeply reflected on this subject, and taken advice from his wisest counsellors, had come to the conclusion, that there was no expedient more salutary to the church, or more worthy of the sovereign pontiff and of a Christian prince, than to convoke a general and free council for the Scriptural determination of all controversies; that this council should be assembled immediately, and composed of the most eminent doctors of all nations; that perfect freedom of debate should be allowed; and that the articles there recommended, after receiving the sanction of the pope, should become the established doctrine of the Christian world, and be supported, if necessary, by the penal interference of the civil powers. He concluded his discourse by pressing this expedient upon the Pope with great urgency, as affording the only reasonable prospect of any lasting tranquillity, and promised the entire co-operation, the presence, the advice and the authority of his master.

The Pope, being previously acquainted with the Emperor's opinion, replied with readiness and great ability.

After alluding to his own exclusive prerogative in the convocation of councils, he proceeded to say : That he could discover only two expedients of any promise for the suppression of the religious rebellion; that the council was one of these, the use of military force the other; that he had reflected profoundly upon the subject, but that he had not decided in favour of the council; that his objections to this method proceeded from no personal

motive, seeing with how indifferent an eye he surveyed the transient dignities of this world, and how worthless and vexatious were all the pomps and riches which embarrassed the chair of St. Peter; but only from a deliberate conviction that the remedy would prove useless; that on examining the elements of the present discord, he had found them to be of three kinds:—*First*, there were doctrines asserted, which were not only false, but manifestly irrational—such as those of the Anabaptists—such as the absolute nullity of the human will, and others; it would be degrading to assemble a council general for the suppression of such mere absurdities. *Secondly*, there were others, which were altogether inexplicable—such as the questions of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass; a council would be vainly employed in an attempt to throw light on questions only pregnant with interminable disputes. *Thirdly*, the rest were matters of observance, in which the authority of the Pope was already competent; that he could dispense with vows, with the celibacy of the clergy, with the use of meats, of sacred vestments and such like matters; it would be absurd to summon a council to pronounce on subjects already so manifest; and, if the princes required any relaxation on those points, the Pope possessed the power to grant it.

Since then all the questions in dispute were comprehended under these three heads, it was clear that a council could render no service; and that the only remaining expedient for appeasing the troubles of the church was force. The power which had tranquillised Italy and overawed France, would find it an easy task to crush an inconsiderable fraction of Germany, in rebellion alike against the church and the empire. “I beseech you then, he concluded, to consider the interests of posterity. For if the authority of the Holy See shall be

once abolished, the world will fall into anarchy, discipline will be destroyed, civilisation extinguished, and rash and audacious spirits will engender every succeeding day some new heresy. Consider, too, how dangerous is any delay when the conflagration has once begun. . . .”

Gattinara rose to reply, but the Pope interrupted him with some indignation, and reproached him as the author of the evil counsels which, in his master's name, he had propounded. Charles immediately vindicated his chancellor with great dignity, and then proceeded himself to answer the arguments of Clement. After noticing the universal and eager thirst for a general council, in which deliberation should be free and truth the arbiter, and the grave consideration which he had consequently bestowed on that question, he declared so firm a conviction of the justice of his present resolution, that he was ready rather to yield up his life than to depart from it. In respect to the inexpediency of examining absurd or inexplicable doctrines, he expressed his opinion that many of the doctrines advanced by the reformers were by no means absurd, and that there was no necessary doctrine which was inexplicable—such a proposition was contrary to the first principles of divine justice, and unworthy of a sovereign pontiff; that there were in religion fundamental and certain truths, which ought to be maintained; that idolatry and immorality were in violation of them, and yet that both existed in the church, as was notorious to all mankind. But besides the correction of abuses, a council was required for another purpose—for the formation of a body of Christian doctrine which should be taught universally, and prevent those dissensions among doctors, on matters of great importance too, which raged even in the bosom of the church; and, if some absurd dogmas had appeared of late, what evil would there be, should a council refute them by clear and certain proofs?

This would be the means of preventing the seductive progress of heresy, and ages to come would profit by the light which would descend to them from the present.

In respect to the dispensations claimed by the papal prerogative, he recommended that even those should be regulated by a council, because matters which regarded all nations ought to be determined by their representatives. He was willing to assist in person at the council, and to enforce its decrees by authority; but as to putting down the disputes by arms and without examination, according to the counsel of the Pope, he would never be a party to any such injustice, so as blindly to destroy the good along with what was evil. He had evinced his affection for the see of Rome by many acts of friendship; but he was no advocate for tyranny in the church, nor would he ever deprive the one party of the liberty of defence, nor the other of the privilege of pronouncing an enlightened and equitable judgment.

To any one, not familiar with the principles of the Vatican, the character of this debate will give some surprise. On the one side was the prince and the soldier, the natural advocate of arbitrary and coercive proceedings; on the other the peaceful ecclesiastic, the representative of the religion and of the person of the God of mercy; and yet whatever piety or virtue may be found in the above dialogue, whatever justice or pretence to justice, whatever principle of sound morality, whatever generosity of political sentiment, whatever regard for the rights or for the happiness of man, whatever respect for the most trite and manifest precepts of Christ—whatever, in short, ought to have proceeded from the minister of concord and charity, was uttered by the secular despot; while the direct recommendation of violence and bloodshed issued from the lips of the Pope. Yet, when the emotion of unutterable disgust excited by this

reflection has at length subsided, it seems clear that the course advised by Clement was the better suited to attain *his* purposes; and that a sanguinary aggression upon the reformers, weak and divided as they then were, would have opened the only human hope of restoring the church to the position, in which Luther found it.

The council dispersed, of course, without coming to any resolution; but in these public assemblies the weapons of the ecclesiastical armoury were never half exhausted. Defeated in open warfare, the papal satellites had immediate recourse to the more dangerous hostility of secret intrigue. If there is anything generous or just in feeling or policy, it will generally prevail in public controversy; but the poison of pontifical influence was most safely administered in the dark, and so it proved on this occasion. The Pope had unchangeably resolved not to consent to the proposal of a council: it was therefore necessary to move the Emperor. Then came the trial of his firmness. In the course of a continual communication, during the space of some weeks, spent within the same walls, in the interchange of acts of hospitality and friendship, the Pope represented to his guest, and urged the representations with all the assiduity and address peculiar to the diplomacy of the Vatican: That a council could not be immediately assembled, and that the interval would give great advantage to the heretics; that the love of novelty and independence, and the desire for the ecclesiastical property, would make such additions to their number, in the various states of the empire, as to place them above the power even of the Emperor himself; that councils, under the best circumstances, usually gave rise, through the variety of conflicting interests, to as many dissensions as they healed; that the demand of a council was in fact, no better, than an artifice of the heretics to gain time for the con-

summation of their double rebellion against the church and the empire; that, should the council decide against them, they would never want pretexts to elude its decrees; that nothing was so dangerous as to make any concession to revolted subjects; and that the only course, which the Emperor could now take, if he regarded either his honour or his safety, was to enforce the execution of his edicts and assert his authority.

Now there was scarcely one of these positions which was not strictly true; and though the policy propounded by Charles was more long-sighted, as well as far more equitable, than that of the Pope, yet the latter, as I have just remarked, was better calculated to undo the work of the last fifteen years. Not that any such reaction could have been permanent; but this the Pope did not perceive, because he did not understand the principles, ecclesiastical or theological, on which the Reformation rested; and therefore, in a superficial view, his proposal suggested the best or only expedient for the restoration of the church. And, as Charles continually professed that his affection for the church was the foundation of all his policy, his only doubt being as to the best means of serving it, it was perfectly fair and consistent in the Pope to address these arguments to him; nor was it very surprising that he was shaken by them.

To a certain extent he was so. He desisted from his demand for the council; but no force of good or evil argument, no stratagem, no warning, no entreaty, could urge him to the other expedient. Either party was equally determined in his negative resolution—the Pope not to call a council; the Emperor not to employ mere physical force, unless preceded by some very general declaration of public opinion.

They arrived then at this understanding: That the Emperor should, in the first instance, employ all manner

of conciliation for the purpose of re-uniting the Protestants to the church; and, if that should fail, through their reluctance and perversity, that he should make his final appeal to arms. This compromise, however it might soothe the scruples of Charles, as leaving him still the means to satisfy his debt to justice, was in fact a victory for the Pope; since it was most probable that the pacific overtures of the Emperor, made, as they were sure to be made, under papal auspices, would be rejected by the reformers: and thus the conclusion, at which matters must speedily arrive, would be exactly that, which was the immediate object of the policy of the Vatican.

The step, which Charles directly took on this resolution, was to call together the States of the Empire, to meet at Augsburg on the 8th of the following April. In his letters of convocation he announced to them, that he summoned the diet for the treatment of the existing religious differences; that all parties should be heard there with kindness and charity; that whatever might require correction or reformation on either part should be corrected and reformed—so that, when the truth should be ascertained and concord restored, one pure and spotless faith should unite mankind, and those who were disciples of the common Saviour should compose one common and undivided church.

This order was dated on January 21, 1530. About a month afterwards (February 24), Charles received his crown at the pontifical hands, and sealed, by a false and servile oath, the vain and humiliating ceremony.

CHAPTER XXXV.

DIET OF AUGSBURG.—THE CONFESSION.

The Protestants appear first at the Diet—Luther's remonstrance to the spirituals assembled at Augsburg—he resides at Coburg during the assembly—final attempt of the Landgrave to reconcile the Saxons and Swiss unsuccessful—distinction between Luther's and Melancthon's feelings on this matter—preliminary skirmishes—as to the establishment of Protestant preachers in churches at Augsburg—as to the attendance of the Protestants in the procession of the Holy Sacrament—as to the Elector's presence at mass on the opening of the Diet—manly conduct of the Protestants—address of the Emperor—the Protestants require the public recitation of their Apology, and persist—a hall appointed for the purpose—the Confession read aloud with much effect—deliberation of the Catholics—they decide on a public refutation of it—substance of the Confession of Augsburg—divided into twenty-one articles of exposition of faith, and seven of ecclesiastical abuses—the great moderation with which this work was composed, with a view to conciliation.

THE assembling of the Diet was postponed till the 1st of May, and the prince who first appeared at Augsburg was the Elector of Saxony. In the first instance there had been some scruples among his advisers, as to the policy of compromising his personal safety by attending the Diet, and the Landgrave seems to have shared those apprehensions; but the bolder and wiser counsel prevailed; for it was argued that, as the Emperor would arrive surrounded by all the prejudices of the papacy, and as the only chance of obtaining favour, or even justice, at his hands, was to remove those prejudices, so the only hope of removing them was by a public and manly proclamation of the real principles of the Reformation, and the real objects of the reformers.

In this view preparations had already been made. As soon as the Emperor published the order for the convocation of the Diet and his reasons for convoking it, the Elector instructed the divines of Wittemberg to draw up a formula of confession; and since religious concord was the professed object of the assembly, and since this could scarcely be hoped for, except through mutual compromises, he directed them to distinguish between such articles as must at any cost be maintained, and such as might, if it were necessary, be modified or conceded. In the course of eight days, Luther, with the aid of Jonas, Pomeranus, and Melancthon, composed, in seventeen articles, a summary of his doctrines, and afterwards presented it to the Elector, on the 22nd of March, at Torgau.

Just before the opening of the Diet, Luther published a "Remonstrance to the Spirituals assembled at the Diet of Augsburg." In the course of this composition, besides vindicating his own doctrines, he alleged many scandalous charges against the mass of the hierarchy, which were not the less offensive because they were notoriously true. In a tone of the deepest earnestness, he urged the bishops at length to recognise that truth, which neither fraud nor persecution could resist much longer, though they might succeed in drawing down the vengeance of God upon the heads of His enemies. He cleared his doctrine from some false imputations: That it was adverse to the authority of civil government; that it was new, and in opposition to apostolical antiquity—in respect to which latter calumny he proved, that the real novelty was in the prevailing superstitions, in those modern opinions which had been invented by the scholastics, and those modern rites which were the creation of the monks. He showed, that all these were vain pretences; and that the real cause of enmity to his

doctrine had been disclosed by the canons of Magdeburg, who acknowledged, that it was so far opposed to the interests of the church as it warred against their avarice and gluttony, while the established opinions, which were in fact the novelties, filled their houses with gold. He descended to particular abuses—to that especially of excommunication; he touched on the confiscation of the monastic property; he urged that far more violent invasions of it had been made by those, who were called the friends of the church;* he pleaded the evil purposes to which it had been applied, and the pious uses to which it was now destined; he treated on the communion in both kinds; and in handling the celibacy of the clergy, he took occasion to tax, in the severest expressions, the impurity and hypocrisy of the prelates of the church.

The Elector was attended by a sort of court, or suite, of one hundred and fifty horsemen. The Landgrave arrived ten days afterwards (May 12), with still fewer followers; and their preparation for the spiritual conflict consisted in the attendance of three theologians—Spalatin, Justus Jonas, and Melancthon. Of course the question had been considered whether or not the cause would be assisted by the presence of Luther. The Elector wished it; and Luther himself, though clearly perceiving the danger of the enterprise, was not reluctant. Neither the prince nor he placed implicit trust in the firmness of Melancthon. But it was objected, that the very proposal to bring again before the face of the Emperor the

* He mentioned that the Emperor had very lately confiscated the See of Utrecht, and pensioned off the bishop, whilst no Protestant prince had made any invasion on episcopal property. Nevertheless the work was publicly sold, during the sitting of the Diet, close by the hotel of the Elector, and was cited with approbation by the Bishop of Augsburg in the Assembly of the Princes.

excommunicated object of the Edict of Worms would be offensive, and almost insulting, while the person of the latter would be exposed to a peril which might involve all his friends. So it was prudently decided not to commit him in this struggle, but to remove him to some place of security not far distant, where it might be easy to communicate with him, and receive his instructions. Accordingly he was conducted by the Elector to the fortress of Coburg, situated about half way between Wittemberg and Augsburg. This, like the castle of his former seclusion, was placed among woods on a mountain top, and became in his imagination another holy solitude, the second Patmos of his evangelical and heaven-directed mission.

The Emperor was at Inspruck, where he received with little cordiality the compliments offered to him by the Elector, through his Grand Marshall, Dölzig. Some thought that it would have been wiser, as well as more courteous, had he offered them, as Charles indeed desired, in person; but, placed in the presence of so many bitter foes, it might have been dangerous for him to make any great show of courtesy, or volunteer any condescension, which, if it bordered on humility, would have been ascribed to fear.

At this seasonable moment, while the leading Reformers were at Augsburg and the enemy close at hand, though not yet present, with the hostile feeling of Charles sufficiently ascertained and the Pope of course implacable; while the storm was thus actually impending, the Landgrave made one final effort to reconcile the two grand divisions of the Reformers. A new chance of success seemed to be offered by the absence of Luther, hitherto the most prominent foe of the proposed union. But his spirit burnt with equal ardour among his disciples. Melancthon and Brentz represented by letter

to the Landgrave, that they could never acknowledge as brothers those who persisted obstinately in error; and that by an alliance with the Zwinglians they should expose themselves to all the hatred that attached to the latter,* and thus endanger the success of the Reformation.

The Landgrave replied, according to his broader principles, that a single error, on an obscure question capable of dubious disputation, was a very insufficient reason for exclusion from communion; that the Lutherans and Zwinglians were so intermixed, not in the same states only, nor only in the same cities, but in the same houses and families, that, if the destruction of the one were permitted, the Papists would find it easy to accomplish their real design of extirpating both; that it was a more Christian office to instruct and console their erring friends, than to abandon them to the common enemy, especially before the question had been decided by a council—a council which the Lutherans themselves demanded, and to which they were prepared to submit the determination of their own cause.

It was in vain. Melancthon, though by temper conciliatory almost to weakness, was on this point as inflexible as his master. But there was, perhaps, this difference in their motives. In Luther's mind, mixed up with other feelings, there was doubtless an infusion of honest bigotry, a religious horror of the Sacramentarian doctrine, extending even to the persons of those who held it. While Melancthon, who had never professed any strong opinion on the dogma in dispute, was rather guided by a timid political calculation, built on the hope that he might conciliate the Roman Catholics, the more powerful party,

* "Mihi non videtur (Melancthon writes to Bucer) utile reipublicæ aut tutum meæ conscientiæ *nostros Principes* onerare invidia vestri Dogmatis; quod neque mihi neque aliis persuadere possim, contra Ecclesiæ auctoritatem."

by making a sacrifice of the weaker and more obnoxious section of his own. But Melancthon had yet to learn the character of his papal opponents, if he imagined by any compromise, by any sacrifice, by any humiliation short of absolute submission, to coax or soften them.

Before the commencement of the grand struggle the opposite parties tried their strength, or at least their spirit, in two or three slight but not unimportant encounters. On their arrival at Augsburg the Protestant princes placed their preachers in the pulpits of some of the principal churches. This step was taken on due thought and in full expectation of the Emperor's opposition. The theologians were consulted on the measures to be adopted in that case; and it was agreed, though with some reluctance on the part of the Elector,* that, if the imperial prohibition should be peremptory, and repeated and supported by threats of force, then the preachers, after a respectful protest, should be silenced.

Charles, as it was not difficult to foresee, remonstrated against this bold invasion of the temples of the established orthodoxy, and immediately sent orders from Inspruck, that the offensive sermons should cease. The Elector replied (on the last of May) that it was impossible for him to impose silence on the word of God, or to refuse himself the consolation of hearing it; that, as the Emperor had promised that the profession of the Protestants should be examined, it was essential in the first instance that it should be known—that it might be purified from the calumnies which had stained it, and publicly distinguished from the impious doctrines respecting the Holy

* "Ego respondi cedendum esse voluntati Cæsaris, in cujus urbe sumus hospites; sed noster senex difficilis est." Melancthon to Luther, May 9.

Sacrament, which were maintained by some, and which were beginning to gain ground at Augsburg.

We are informed that those preachers were instructed to abstain from all topics of controversy and irritation ; and thus to make it known to the world that the Protestants were animated by the purest spirit of peace and charity. Yet from the conclusion of the Elector's reply it would appear, that that truly Christian spirit was to be exerted only towards a powerful and menacing foe, while the single difference of a brother reformer, who was breathing on his side nothing but concord and amity, was to be stigmatised as impious and detestable both before God and man.

On the 4th of June Gattinara died at Inspruck. He was a man of sense and moderation, decidedly adverse to the warlike views of the papal party, much indisposed to any violent measures, and possessing great influence over the mind of the Emperor. He died at the crisis when his life would have been the most valuable, and when his counsels might have produced results honourable to the policy of his master and advantageous to the spiritual emancipation of mankind.

On his arrival at Augsburg the Emperor repeated his order for the removal of the preachers. On the part of the Protestants the Margrave of Brandenburg, with some warmth, refused obedience. And it was not till after further negotiations that the matter was thus arranged ; the preachers on both* sides were silenced ; the appointment of others during the session of the Diet was left to the selection of the Emperor ; and he engaged, on his part, to select none but men of moderate opinions and

* It so happened that Faber and Cochlæus, two of the most strenuous enemies of the Reformation, were among the number. The inhabitants of Augsburg were for the most part Reformers, and the Bishop himself was not far removed from their opinions.

temper, who should expound the Gospel in its purity. The individuals whom he chose may have been as dull and ignorant as the Elector, in a letter to Luther, has represented them. But it was a point gained by the Protestants, and, at that moment, an important point, that both parties were silenced—this was to place them on a level with their adversaries—to account them, not heretics or schismatics, but, pending the decision of the Diet, equals. That this preliminary dispute was not accommodated till the 17th of June, is besides no slight proof of the firmness of the Protestants.

The day following that of the Emperor's entrance into Augsburg (June 5) was the Festival of the Holy Sacrament. It was well known that the Protestants had discontinued, as superstitious, the ceremonies observed by the church on that solemnity. The opportunity was favourable to embroil them with the Emperor, and it is supposed by some that his papal advisers had been guided by this consideration in regulating his movements. On the evening of his arrival, the Emperor directed his brother to inform the Protestant princes, that he should expect them to appear in the morrow's procession. The same Margrave of Brandenburg replied, as in the affair of the preaching, with the same decision—"I would rather lay down my head before the executioner, than renounce God and his Gospel and give sanction to idolatry." The Emperor, who was present, replied with great mildness, that the question was not one in which the head of any one was concerned. But he was struck with the boldness of the Margrave's speech, and he allowed the Protestants till the morrow to deliberate.

At the appointed time they appeared before him, and expressed the reasons which rendered their obedience in this instance impossible. They pleaded the evangelical

institution of the sacrament, for purposes of spiritual edification, not to be paraded in pompous pageantry about the public places, as an object of adoration to the vulgar. They maintained too that the festival was of recent origin, and that its effect was only to scandalise those who were instructed in the truth; and they deplored the indecent degradation of so holy a rite.

The Margrave urged these and other reasons with so much force and courage that the Emperor changed his tone from that of authority to amicable remonstrance and entreaty. He besought them to pay deference to his orders, and expressed his hopes that he should see them in the procession. But they were not thus tempted to so plain a sacrifice of religious principle.

The opening of the Diet was fixed for the 20th of June, and the occasion was, as usual, to be solemnised by the celebration of mass. Here was another net for the Protestants, and the Emperor caused it to be signified to the Elector that he expected his attendance. The Elector was Grand Marshal of the empire, and in that capacity he was bound to assist his lord on this occasion. Nevertheless, it was his first impulse to refuse. But afterwards, on the representation of his theologians*—that through the necessary obligation of his office he would be exculpated—he yielded. After a formal declaration that he should be present only in the discharge of an official duty, which, while it satisfied his own scruples, would convince the Emperor that he had made no religious concession, he took his place at the ceremony; but this distinction he still preserved, that, while all the

* The arguments of the theologians on this subject seemed weak and sophistical to some of the bolder Reformers; and it was held, that, by lowering religious to the level of civil obedience, they tended to abolish one of the great distinctions on which the Reformation was founded. They are given by Fra Paolo, lib. i. sec. 42.

rest of that large assembly fell down on their knees at the elevation of the host, John alone, together with the Margrave who attended him, remained upright.

These three skirmishes, though followed by no perceptible consequences, are very deserving of the notice of the historian, not only as indicating the resolution with which the Reformers approached the conflict, but as unquestionably productive of some effect on the mind of Charles. He was unacquainted with their principles and their character. It was a new thing for him to be resisted, and resisted by princes and in his presence, on the ground of religious conscience. He was unacquainted with the spirit inspired into the soul by that incentive. The very value, too, that was attached to these secondary matters, proved how well prepared and disciplined were the Lutherans, how resolved to contest every point that was disputable. And it was something gained, that they went through these preludes with honour and not without success.

The legate selected for this critical occasion was Campeggio,* a man of much worldly knowledge, ability and address. There were likewise present two nuncios, Pimpinella and Vergerio. Pimpinella preached the sermon at the opening of the Diet; and by mingling with his imputations on the Reformers and their doctrines some general charges against the whole German nation, he offended not those only, about whose opinion he was in-

* It was for some time doubtful whether the Pope's choice had fallen on Campeggio or Gaetan; and Melancthon, writing to Luther at that moment, said: "*Ego sane Campeggium malim, ut virum peritum rerum civilium. Alter est homo ineptus et incivilis, quo genere hominum nihil est intractabilius.*" In the very following epistle we read: "*Nihil spei ostenditur ex aula Cæsariana; nam Campeggius tantum est auctor ut vi opprimamur.*" Epist. Phil. Melanct. edit. Lond. 1642, Ep. 3 and 4. The "*vir peritus rerum civilium*" might be a very zealous advocate for persecution, notwithstanding.

different, but some of the more moderate of the papal party. The Cardinal Archbishop of Mayence was one who loudly expressed his dissatisfaction.

The Emperor then caused his own address to be read to the Diet. It turned on two subjects—the war with the Turks, and the religious dissensions. His theme on both was the necessity of union. The former part of his discourse contained nothing worthy of remark; the latter was more hostile to the Protestants than his letters of convocation led them to expect. He deplored the non-execution of the Edict of Worms, and the inefficacy of all subsequent exertions for the same purpose during his absence in Spain. He was now returned to his German dominions to institute a personal investigation, and to attend to the complaints and arguments of all parties, when they should be duly delivered to him in writing.

It was of course obvious that the path for the proposed political confederacy must be prepared by some form of religious reconciliation, and therefore that the first and principal part of the discussions of the Diet would be directed to the latter subject. Accordingly the Emperor commanded the Protestants to deliver to him a summary of their doctrine, and of the ecclesiastical abuses of which they complained, within the space of two days.

The second session of the Diet was held on the 24th. The interval had been employed by the Reformers in reconsidering, with much anxiety and prayer,* the apology which had been previously prepared by Melancthon. And perceiving the Emperor's disposition to conduct the inquiry, as it were, privately, by a mere interchange of

* The morning was passed by the Elector in solitary devotion in his chamber, in the study of the Psalms, in calling on God for assistance and grace, for the aid and honour of His Gospel. He even composed a religious "Gedanke," to the surprise and edification of Melancthon and Dölzig.

written explanations; and being well convinced how essential it was to their success to invest with every possible publicity all their acts, opinions, and declarations, they resolved that, with the Emperor's permission, their manifesto should be read before the assembled Diet.

After a discourse had been delivered by Campeggio, containing nothing worthy of remark, and the Archbishop of Mayence, in the name of the Emperor and the states, had replied, the ambassadors of Austria and the adjoining provinces were introduced, and the discussion turned upon the Turkish invasion. The Protestant princes were in their turn consulted on this subject; and then they rose, and by the mouth of Pontanus, late chancellor of the Elector of Saxony, complained of the various calumnies which had been cast on them, and demanded for their justification the public recitation of their apology. The Emperor desired them to deliver it to the appointed officers, and assured them that it should be duly considered and answered. The Protestants persisted, and pleaded that their honour, their safety and their conscience were concerned in the decision of this matter. On the continued resistance of Charles they urged, that they had no other motive in attending the Diet than this, and that their rank as princes of the empire entitled them to what was no more than a just demand. And when this remonstrance proved as vain as all that had preceded it, they declined, with every expression of decorous respect, to deliver their confession on any other terms.

Some concession became then necessary: and it was determined that the document should be read aloud on the following day before such of the states of the empire as should choose to attend; but that the assembly should not be held in the hall appropriated to the sessions of

the Diet, but in a smaller chamber in the palace occupied by the Emperor.* The object of this arrangement was to exclude all who were not positively members of the Diet, and thus materially to contract the numbers of the audience. But it did not prove a very successful device; for the adjacent chambers were thronged with a crowd of listeners; and the princes and persons of influence, those whom it was most important to undeceive and enlighten on the real origin and principles of the Reformation, were present.

When the preparations were completed, Christopher Beyer, who had succeeded Pontanus in the office of chancellor, rose to read the Confession. And here again a slight demur was raised on the part of the Emperor. There being two copies presented, the one in Latin, the other in German, he was desirous, on the same principle that guided him through all this affair, that the former only should be read; but on the Elector's earnest pleading that its contents would thus be unintelligible to many members present, and that being Germans, assembled in Germany, they claimed the use of their own language, he yielded. Then the chancellor performed his office, with an articulation so clear, distinct and slow, and a voice so loud and sonorous, that he was heard in the inferior court and all the places adjoining.

Profound attention prevailed during the space of two hours thus occupied; and the effect upon the less prejudiced portion of the listeners was such as the Protestants expected. Those, who were acquainted with the new doctrines only through the misrepresentations of the papists, were astonished to find them so moderate; and

* That of the Bishop of Augsburg. The room in which the Confession was read contained about two hundred persons. The Emperor had desired to receive a copy the day before the recital, but this was discreetly refused.

there were doubtless others, who, with the Bishop of Augsburg,* even admitted their truth. "All that we have just heard," exclaimed that prelate, "is pure truth—it is impossible to deny it." And thus the exultation of Luther was not ill-founded, when he insulted the inconsistency of his enemies in this, that after silencing the preachers of his doctrines, they had contributed to their far more effectual promulgation by permitting this public exposition of them.† And so indeed it proved; for though the Emperor expressly prohibited the publication of the Confession, yet very numerous copies and translations of it circulated at the Diet, and were thence transmitted by the ambassadors and deputies of both parties to every quarter of Europe.

When Pontanus placed the copies of the Confession in the hands of the Emperor's secretary, he said, in an au-

* According to Fra Paolo, Cardinal Matteo Lanzi, Archbishop of Salzburg, expressed his public approbation of the reform of the mass and the liberty of meats, and said, that those changes might have been endured, had they not proceeded from a miserable monk. To Cornelio Scopero, secretary of the Emperor, is ascribed the remark, that if the Protestant preachers had money to bestow, they might buy of the Italians whatever religion they preferred; but that they would never succeed without gold. Lib. i. § 42. William Duke of Bavaria immediately expressed to the Elector his satisfaction and surprise at the moderation of his doctrine. Yet the more violent papists showed, by the impatience of their gestures during the recital, that they demanded nothing less than absolute submission.—Cœlestine, History of the Confession of Augsburg, tom. ii. fol. 190.

† In a letter to the Elector of July 9. See also a letter to Cordatus, of July 6 (No. 1246): "Certe instructum est ab adversariis ne Cæsar eam (confessionem) admitteret, neve audiret; publice tamen, coram *vulgo* Imperii legi non potuit—hoc effecerunt. Deinde Cæsaris jussu tradita est et lecta coram toto Imperio, *i. e.* principibus et statibus imperii. Mihi vehementer placet vixisse in hanc horam, qua Christus per suos tantos confessores in tanto consensu publice est prædicatus confessione plane pulcherrima." Yet was that last epithet, from Luther's pen, intended as very high praise?

dible tone to the prince and to the whole assembly, "With the grace of God, who will defend his own cause, this Confession will triumph over the gates of hell." Charles received the document thus consigned to him, and promised to deliberate on its contents. He did so: and when his advisers were assembled for this purpose, he found them divided by three opinions.* The pure, unleavened churchmen breathed nothing but violence and vengeance—the execution of the Edict of Worms, and the sanguinary chastisement of the heretics. Another section recommended a very different policy—that the confession should be submitted to the consideration of moderate and impartial men, and that the final decision should be formed on their report. A third party advised—what was in appearance a middle course, but in reality was intended to end where the first would have begun—that the Confession should first receive a public refutation, and that the Protestants should then be commanded, and in case of disobedience compelled, to conform to the established doctrines and ceremonies, until a council should decide otherwise.

Contented under this thin veil of justice to disguise the real features of persecution, the majority of the council, conducted by Campeggio, adopted the last proposal. The Emperor consented. The composition of the confutation was assigned to Faber, Eck, Cochläus, and others remarkable for their zeal, and the recitation of it was deferred for six weeks. Meanwhile the papists did not design that this interval should be lost, but determined to devote it to those stratagems of private negotiation, which they so frequently found to succeed after the defeat of their public exertions.

As the Confession of Augsburg is the most celebrated,

* Melancth. Epist. lib. iv. Ep. 9.

if not the most important, document in the history of the Reformation, I have thought proper to publish the first division of it in the Appendix. Still it is necessary to give some account of it in this place, since the knowledge of its substance and of the spirit in which it was composed is essential to the proper understanding of some of the events which distinguish this period. It was prefaced by an extremely judicious address to the Emperor. He was reminded of the objects which he had himself professed in convoking the council—the reconciliation of the two parties, through the exercise of a mutual charity, the interchange of dispassionate arguments, the determination to correct what on either side might be found amiss, for the final attainment of simple truth and Christian concord, and re-union in one church under one master, Christ. The Protestants had obeyed the summons, and presented themselves among the first at the appointed place. At present, also in obedience to the Emperor's commands, they delivered the confession of their evangelical doctrine. They declared their readiness to enter into amicable discussion on any of the controverted points, with the most ardent trust and vows that it might end in concord, and the determination to embrace any means for that purpose, consistent with their conscience. The Emperor had expressed at divers times his wish for a general council, and his determination to urge the Pope to convoke one. "If then we shall fail at this Diet to come to an arrangement on the controverted articles, we offer, with all the respect and obedience that we owe to your majesty, to appear before a general free and Christian council,* and to defend our

* "Hic in omni obedientia nos offerimus ex superabundanti comparituros et causam dicturos in tali generali libero et Christiano concilio. . . ." Now the council specified in the preceding clauses was one to be convoked by the Pope, through the influence and with the co-opera-

cause. From the commencement of your reign, Sire, all the States have agreed in this demand, in all the imperial Diets, with united suffrages. To such a council, as well as to your imperial majesty, we have already made our formal appeal. We still adhere to that appeal; and should we fail on this occasion to come to an understanding with the other party, we solemnly and publicly protest, that we do not intend, that we are not able, to withdraw it, through this or any other proceeding."

The entire exposition consisted of twenty-eight articles. In the first twenty-one was comprehended the profession of faith. The other seven were directed against seven of the most offensive abuses of the Roman Catholic church. The first treated on the unity of the godhead and the trinity of persons. The second, on original sin. The third, on the incarnation and the two natures of Jesus Christ; the atonement made by his death, his descent to hell, his ascension to the right hand of his Father, and his future coming to judge the quick and the dead. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth, it is asserted, that men are not justified before God by their works, or their merits, but through faith; that the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments are the ordinary means by which God communicates the Holy Spirit, which forms that faith, where and when it may seem good to Him, in the hearts of those who hear his word; that this same faith of necessity produces good works, which are expressly enjoined by the commandment of God, and are to be performed in a spirit of obedience to God. In the seventh, that there is one everlasting church, the assembly of the saints; and that its unity consists in unity of doctrine and of

tion of the Emperor. "Ideo significabat se V. C. M. operam daturam ut præfatus Pontifex Maximus una cum V. C. M. tale generale concilium, primo quoque emissis literis publicandum, congregare consentiret. . . ."

the sacraments; and that uniformity in ceremonies and other human institutions is not necessary. In the eighth, that the word and the sacraments do not lose their effect, through the vices of the ministers who may dispense them. In the ninth, that baptism is necessary to salvation, and that infants are to be baptized. The tenth relates to the Eucharist. In the most ancient Latin copies it runs thus: That in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of the Lord are truly present and distributed to those who eat. In the German, as follows: That the true body and true blood of the Lord are indeed present under the species of bread and wine, in the Lord's Supper. In the eleventh, that private confession should be retained in the church, but without insisting on an exact enumeration of the sins committed. In the twelfth, that penitence consists in contrition and in faith, or persuasion that our sins are forgiven, by means of Jesus Christ; and that there is no true repentance without good works, which are its inseparable fruits. In the thirteenth, that the sacraments are not merely signs of the profession of Christianity, but proofs of the love of God towards men, exciting and confirming their faith; and that faith in the promises annexed to them is necessary in those who use them. In the fourteenth, that no one should preach or administer the sacraments of the church, unless duly appointed. In the fifteenth, that the ceremonies of the church should be generally observed; but that they are not to be inculcated as necessary for salvation, or as meriting grace, or as a satisfaction for sins. In the sixteenth, that the authority of magistrates, the laws they enact, the punishments they inflict, the wars they declare, &c. are legitimate. In the seventeenth, that at the end of all things Christ will sit in judgment, and that eternal rewards are prepared for the pious and elect, and eternal punishments

for the wicked. In the eighteenth, that the power of the human will may effect the justice of man, and decide on matters subject to reason; but that without the Holy Spirit it cannot produce the justice of God, or spiritual justice. In the nineteenth, that God is not the cause of sin, but the will of the devil and of the impious. In the twentieth, that good works are indispensable, but that they cannot merit the remission of sins which is only given through the merits of Christ, and in consideration of that faith which, if it be sincere, must produce good works; and that they are to be performed, not in any hope of meriting grace by them, but in obedience to the will of God. In the twenty-first, that the merits of the saints may be proposed to the people, as matters for imitation; but that Scripture nowhere tells us to invoke them, and speaks only of one mediator, priest and intercessor, which is Christ.

Then, after remarking with emphasis on the conformity of their doctrine, not only with Scripture, but with that of the Catholic church and of the Roman church, and the consequent injustice of stigmatising them as heretics, the Protestants proceeded to enumerate the abuses in ceremony and discipline, which they had rejected; carefully premising that such matters were not essential obstacles to union; and that, after all, they retained the greater number of the established observances.

The First of these was the retrenchment of the cup, as contrary to the institution of Christ and the practice of the ancient church. The Second was the celibacy of the clergy, as being likewise contrary to the liberty permitted by the gospel. On this subject it was observed, that the present practice had not been established in Germany longer than four centuries, that it had been the cause of great tumults and disorders there;

and that, from the increasing infirmity of mankind, the time was now arrived for departing from the rigour of the canons.* The Third was the mass. In treating this delicate question they at once repelled the charge of having abolished it;† asserting that they continued to celebrate it with much reverence and with little alteration even in the ceremonies; and that they had abolished nothing, except one scandalous profanation of it—the saying it for money—a practice which had occasioned the desecration of the sacrament, and the dishonour of the clergy. They continued: That the mass had not the virtue of expiating sins, since justification came by faith alone. Private masses they rejected altogether, asserting that they had no claim to any higher antiquity than that of the age of St. Gregory. The Fourth was confession, respecting which they declared, that they rejected nothing more than the enumeration and specification of the sins confessed; and that they retained both the confession itself, and the necessity of ministerial absolution. The Fifth was abstinence from particular meats, which they had abolished, as impressing the people with an erroneous notion of the merit of works; and of the importance of external practices; and occasioning

* Allusion is made in this article to the speech ascribed by Platina to Pope Pius: That there was reason for prohibiting the marriage of the clergy, but much greater for permitting it. “*Et cum senescente mundo paulatim humana natura fiat imbecillior, convenit prospicere, ne plura vitia serpent in Germaniam. Ipsi canones veterem rigorem interdum posterioribus temporibus propter imbecillitatem hominum laxandum esse dicunt, &c.*”

† “*Falso accusantur ecclesiæ nostræ quod missam aboleant; retinetur enim missa apud nos et summa reverentia celebratur. Servantur et usitatæ ceremoniæ fere omnes. . . . Ab initio mundi nulla res divina ita videtur unquam ad quæstum collata fuisse, ut missa. Accessit opinio quæ auxit privatas missas in infinitum, videlicet, quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit missam, in qua fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus. . . .*”

much anxiety and torture to delicate consciences. The Sixth was monastic vows; and these too they had abolished, as snares to the conscience, as beyond the possibility of observance, and the source of irregularity and crime; condemning at the same time the exaggerated opinion of holiness and perfection, on which they were founded, and of the spiritual advantages which they conferred on those who embraced them. The Seventh was the abuse of ecclesiastical authority—that especially by which it had invaded the limits of the secular power, even the prerogatives of princes. On this subject they asserted, that the power of the keys extended only to spiritual matters, such as the preaching of the gospel, the administration of the sacraments, absolution of sins, not to the disposal of kingdoms, or the abrogation of civil ordinances; that the ecclesiastical ministry was honourable and its authority of divine right, so long as it was confined to purposes of edification, and refrained from imposing upon the faithful the burden of arbitrary observances.

They subjoined, in conclusion, that other abuses might easily have been added, such as those of indulgences, pilgrimages, excommunication, &c.; but that it was their wish to say no more on those subjects than was necessary to manifest the conformity both of their doctrine and ceremonies with the word of God and the Catholic church, and their innocence of having introduced into their churches any novel or impious dogmas.*

* “Epilogus. Hi sunt præcipui articuli qui videntur habere controversiam. Quanquam enim de pluribus abusibus dici poterat, tamen, ut fugeremus prolixitatem, præcipua complexi sumus, ex quibus cætera facile judicari possunt. Magnæ querelæ fuerunt de indulgentiis, de peregrinationibus, de abusu excommunicationis; parochiæ multipliciter vexabantur per stationarios. Infinitæ contentiones erant pastoribus cum monachis, de jure parochiali, de confessionibus, de sepulturis, de extra-

When we compare the tone of the Confession of Augsburg with the controversial writings, or exegetical treatises, or even private correspondence of the Reformers, we are struck, not only with the moderation of its language, but with the cautious, if not timid, exposition of some of the doctrines contained in it. It is evident, that one great object with its composers was conciliation. They nourished a hope, that by professions of goodwill and general orthodoxy—by proclaiming their adherence to the Church in all essentials—by making it difficult to detect in their creed any indisputable tendency to schism or heresy,—they might at least escape a positive sentence of condemnation. Therefore they took pains to show, that the differences turned on questions not material, matters of ceremony or observance, or discipline, placed for the most part within the dispensing power of the Pope.

To this end they did not expressly reduce the number of the sacraments, while they retained among them confession, absolution, and ordination. They refrained (in the 18th article) from pressing the doctrine of justification to the limits to which Luther carried it. In the fifth, ninth, and other articles they disclaimed the Anabaptists. In the tenth they rejected, though not by name,* the Sacramentaries. Indeed, their doctrine on

ordinariis concionibus et de aliis innumerabilibus rebus. Hujusmodi negotia prætermisimus, ut illa quæ sunt in hac causa præcipua breviter proposita facilius cognosci possent. Neque hic quicquam ad ullius contumeliam dictum aut collectum est. Tantum ea recitata sunt, quæ videbantur necessario dicenda esse, ut intelligi possit, in doctrina et cæremoniis apud nos nihil esse receptum contra Scripturam, aut ecclesiam Catholicam. Quia manifestum est nos diligentissime cavisse ne qua nova et impia dogmata in ecclesias nostras serperent."

* "In cæna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuuntur vescentibus in cæna Domini—et improbant secus docentes."—Art. X.

the nature of the elements was so generally expressed, without any disapproval of the Catholic tenet, without any mention of the word transubstantiation, as to leave it at least doubtful whether they had any difference with the church on that most important point. Their article on the abuse of the mass was written in the same spirit. They professed to repudiate certain ceremonies connected with it and also the celebration of private masses, but to retain the substance as held by the church. And therefore, when they came to treat of the sacrifice, which was indeed the essential part, they avoided any express declaration of opinion, and contented themselves with asserting that the sacrament did not possess an efficacy, which no intelligent Roman Catholic was probably prepared to ascribe to it.

As means of conciliating the Pope and his hierarchy such expedients were worse than useless. By them they were sure to be received as proofs of conscious weakness rather than Christian humility—as decent concessions preparatory to absolute submission. It is, however, probable that they were not so much addressed to that intractable faction as to the imperial court, and especially to Charles himself. The dream of the moment was to gain the Emperor. This clearly appears from the correspondence which passed between the theologians at the time, wherein we find that prince, especially in the earlier letters, eulogised, far beyond his deserts, for moderation and impartiality. It appears too from the nature of some of the compromises. Charles had notoriously declared, that there might be objectionable practices in the church of Rome, but that the mass was its very heart, and that he would never allow it to be violated. Hence perhaps their delicacy in treating the mass. In the 16th article they declared their respect for the civil authorities in expressions which would not seem to have

been required from divines and princes. Even that, relating to ecclesiastical authority, was so worded as to seek favour with the secular powers, at the expense of the usurped prerogatives of Rome.*

These remarks, which might be multiplied, are perhaps sufficient to indicate the spirit in which the confession was composed, as well as the object to which its remarkable moderation was directed. Yet, if there was any blame in this, and perhaps there was none, it would not be just to ascribe it to Melancthon alone. Others shared in the composition of the work; it received the approbation of the princes; and Luther himself, though not admiring its soft and low tones, expressed his general satisfaction with it, and allowed it to pass through his hands without any alteration.†

* “*Magnæ disputationes fuerunt de potestate episcoporum, in quibus nonnulli incommode commiscuerunt potestatem ecclesiasticam et potestatem gladii. Et ex hac confusione maxima bella, maximi motus extiterunt, dum pontifices freti potestate clavium non solum novos cultus instituerunt reservatione casuum, violentis excommunicationibus conscientias oneraverunt, sed etiam regna mundi transferre et imperatoribus adimere imperium conati sunt. Hæc vitia multo ante reprehenderunt in Ecclesia homines pii et cruditi. Itaque nostri, ad consolandas conscientias, coacti sunt ostendere discrimen ecclesiasticæ potestatis et potestatis gladii, &c. . .*”

† His words, addressed to the Elector on May 15 (No. 1213), were “*Die gefället mir fast wohl, und weiss nicht daran zu bessern, noch ändern, wurde sich auch nicht schicken; denn ich so sanft und leise nicht treten kan.*”

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DIET OF AUGSBURG.—THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Subscription of the Confession—opinion of Melancthon—protest of the Landgrave—difficulty of composing that work—other difficulties of Melancthon as the Diet advanced—extract from his correspondence—confirmed by Camerarius—consolations and remonstrances of Luther—founded in a religious feeling—question as to concession—intrigues of the papal party—Melancthon's letter to Campeggio—principle laid down by Luther—other extracts from his letters—to Hausman, J. Jonas, Melancthon, and the three theologians at Augsburg—remarks—delivery, revision and recitation of the Refutation—sagacity of Luther—appointment of the mediators—their names and insolent demeanour—departure of the Landgrave from the Diet—the negotiations resumed—continued partiality of the mediators—seeming understanding of the Protestant chiefs as to concession—terms to which the theologians were prepared to consent—the princes refuse to acknowledge the authority of the Pope—a committee of fourteen presently reduced to six—they enter into particulars—examine the Confession in detail—their numerous points of agreement—they can come to no understanding on the distribution of the cup, marriage of the clergy, monasteries—discussions on the canon of the mass—Melancthon falters, but Luther at once rejects the papal proposals—the committee is then dissolved.

It was the opinion of Melancthon that the Confession should be subscribed only by the theologians, because they were the persons to whom the regulation of spiritual matters properly belonged; and because such a proceeding would have left the princes uncompromised, and at liberty to employ, as might seem most expedient, their temporal authority.* But this suggestion was wisely overruled; and it was decided to give every possible

* Camerar. De Philippi Melancthonis Ortu Narratio. Lipsiæ, p. 123, et seq.

weight in the eyes of the Christian world to a document, which was intended to proclaim the opinions of the party and was indeed the first public and official manifesto of the Reformation. The landgrave signed it, together with the others, but not without a protest against the tenth article; because it excluded every hope of a coalition with the Sacramentaries, and thus defeated the favourite object of his exertions.

The groundwork of the confession was indeed supplied by Luther in the articles of Torgau. But it is proper to remark, that it was no easy matter to arrange so multifarious a collection of topics, under circumstances so peculiar, with the skill and preciseness exhibited in that composition. During the two or three preceding centuries all theological questions had been so perplexed by scholastic reasonings, as almost to bury the simple doctrine in the sophistries that were thrown over it. Hitherto the Reformers had no acknowledged centre of union—in fact, through their self-asserted freedom of individual opinion, they had taken up notions somewhat different from each other as to their common belief. On the other side, the papists, to a great extent, misunderstood them, and where they understood they misrepresented; so that the composer of this creed was met by impediments of an almost opposite nature. He was bound to exhibit sufficient causes for the discontent of the Reformers, yet to avoid all unnecessary and vexatious grounds of cavil—to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the one party the boldness of Christian liberty, yet to display to the other a spirit of due subordination to the civil authorities—to combine by one creed an independent band, whose religious notions were not very definite, and to do that without breach of peace or communion with an uncompromising enemy. All this Melancthon attempted to perform, and without any model for his

guidance. In after ages it became easier to draw up such compositions; but to prepare the original, and under those circumstances, was a very delicate and anxious office.*

Still this was a simple difficulty and within reach of the clear and guarded understanding of Melancthon. But as the Diet proceeded, and matters became more complicated, his situation involved him in far greater perplexities. He was subject to the insults of the papists, whom he was sincerely desirous to conciliate, and who formed far the more numerous and dignified and powerful party. He was harassed by the suspicions and reproaches of his own colleagues; he had to deal with the princes on one side, with the theologians on another. The most important and difficult negotiations, with a crafty and unyielding adversary, on topics abstruse and indefinite, were placed for the most part in his hands, and the responsibility rested almost entirely with himself. And to contend against all these anxieties he did not possess an inflexible character, nor was he inflamed by that religious enthusiasm which filled the soul of Luther.

Thus, when we examine his correspondence during this period, we perceive the trouble of his soul, which he poured out, in terms of affectionate despondency, into the bosom of his friend and father:—

“Here we are involved in the most wretched distresses, and our tears never cease to flow. And in addition to all this we were this day thrown into wonderful consternation by an epistle of Vitus, in which he signifies that you are so offended with us as not to deign so much as to read our letters. I will not, my father, make any loud expression of my sorrow by words: but I do intreat

* See Gaspar Peucer's "Epistola Dedicatoria" to the 4th vol. of Melancthon's Works.

you to consider our situation and the danger that besets us, in which, indeed, there is no consolation, except such as may come to us from you. Day after day there is a confluence of sophists and monks into this place for the purpose of inflaming the Emperor against us. Our friends, those whom we have hitherto called our friends, are absent. Alone and despised we are contending with infinite perils. I beseech you then to have some regard for us, who assuredly are guided by your authority in the most important matters; and at least do not refuse to read our communications and to reply to them, both that you may direct our actions and console our troubles.”*

That this was no exaggerated description of his sorrows and his fears is attested by the account of his friend and panegyrist Camerarius, who was at Augsburg with him: “I myself have observed him, in the midst of such reflections, pouring forth not only sighs but tears. I have seen proof abundant both of his piety and his prudence in the just complaints, as well as in the very serious and wise discourses, which I have heard from his lips. These indeed were displeasing to some who felt greater security, and when communicated to Luther drew from him an epistle, in which he accused Melancthon of timidity; and this was carried about to his disparagement, when it should rather have been converted to his praise. But I know not how it happened, that everything which this man ever said or did was set

* Epist. Phil. Melancth., Londin. 1642, Epist. 9. Others to Vitus Theodorus are extant, to the same effect, and containing almost the same expressions. In two of them he requested Vitus, in case Luther should persist in his refusal to read their letters, to open them and read them to him—“non obsignavi litteras doctoris, ut tu legas et vel invito recites. . . Ipsius auctoritatem sequimur, qui si nos destituit, quid periculi consequatur facile potes judicare. . . Et stomachatur nulla causa. . .”

up by malice as a mark for the arrows of calumny and slander.”*

Let us turn to the letters of Luther, and observe what were the expressions which he addressed to his afflicted son in Christ during the perplexity of this crisis. On the 27th of June he wrote as follows: “It is your philosophy, my Philip, which vexes you so, not your theology. . . . I do beseech you, as you are pugnacious enough against others, so struggle manfully against yourself—yourself is your own greatest foe, and it is you who supply Satan with arms against you. . . .” Then, after exhorting him to a religious confidence in the merits and death of Christ, he proceeded: “I, for my part, am not very much disturbed respecting our common cause; nay, I am even in better hope than I thought to be. God has power to raise up the dead; he has power then to support his cause while falling, to restore it when fallen, to advance it while standing upright. If we are not worthy to be His instruments, let the work be done by others; but if we are not to find comfort and courage in his promises, who are there now on earth to whom they more properly pertain?”

Two days afterwards he wrote: “What displeases me in your letter is this, that you describe yourselves as having followed my authority in this affair. I do not choose to be, or to be said to be, your mover (*auctor*) in this cause. If it be not also and equally your cause, I do not at least choose that it should be called mine and be imposed upon you. If the cause is mine alone, I alone will act in it.” Again, on the very following day, he addressed him thus: “In private contests I am the weaker, you the stronger combatant; but in public you are such as I am in private, and I in public such as you

* Camerarii. De Phil. Melancth. Ortu Narratio. Lipsiæ, p. 124, &c.

in private, if indeed any struggle can be called private which is carried on betwixt me and Satan. But you despise your own life, while you tremble for the public cause; while I feel very easy and magnanimous about the public cause; because I know for a certainty that it is just and true, that it is the cause of Christ himself and of God, and that there is no consciousness of sin to make it blanch, as I perforce grow pale and tremble, simple and half sanctified as I am. If we fall, Christ will fall with us,* even the Ruler of the world. And let Him fall; I would rather fall with Christ than stand with Cæsar. Neither is it you alone who support this cause. Assuredly I am faithful to you, and present with you in my groans and prayers, and would I were also present in the flesh! . . . But it is in vain that I write thus; because you, following the rules of your philosophy, persist in directing these things by reason, that is, in being rationally mad; and so you wear yourself to death, without perceiving that this cause is placed altogether beyond your reach and counsel, and does not care to be treated by any solicitude of yours. . . .”

These dignified admonitions breathe a very high spirit of religious devotion; and it shines the more when con-

* The following is in the same strain: “*Si nos ecclesia, aut pars ecclesiæ non sumus, ubi est ecclesia? Num duces Baviaræ; Ferdinandus, Papa, Turca et similes sunt ecclesia? Si nos non habemus Verbum Dei, qui sunt qui habent? Si ergo Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos? Peccatores sumus et ingrati—sed non ideo ille mendax erit.*” To Justus Jonas, on July 9, he wrote: “*Christus venit et sedet . . . ad dexteram Dei. Est hoc incredibile magnum. Ego tamen delector in isto incredibili et in eo mori prorsus præsumo. Et quare non etiam in eo viverem? Utinam et Philippus saltem mea fide, si aliam non habet, hoc crederet!—Christ has come, and he sits on the right hand of the Father. This is a great incredibility; yet do I take delight in that incredibility and am eager to die in it. But why should I not live in it likewise? How I wish Melancthon would believe this, at least through my faith, if he have no other.*”

trasted with the desponding tone of Melancthon, and the worldly, though not perhaps personal, apprehensions continually betrayed by him. Still it should not be forgotten how much easier it was to be the spectator of these critical scenes, than to enact the leading character. The wild and lofty solitudes of Coburg were far more favourable to those exclusive spiritual impressions than the crowded halls and courts of Augsburg; and that perpetual contact with the weaknesses and disquietudes of friends,* that unwearied wariness necessary against an ever plotting enemy, would have shaken a firmer resolution than Melancthon's; and had Luther himself been as long exposed to those trials, they would have disturbed his equanimity, though they might not have broken his courage.

The principal cause of the anxiety experienced by Melancthon was contained in this question: What further concessions can be made to conciliate the Roman Catholics, without the compromise of any essential truth, or any violation of conscience? Had it been determined to abide by the confession, which was itself a somewhat timid exposition of the doctrine of the Protestants, there might have been ground for positive fear, but none for perplexity or doubt. Having taken their position deliberately, they must have awaited the result with firmness, and thrown themselves on the good providence of God. But such was not their design. Scarcely was the confession delivered to the Emperor, before the theologians turned their thoughts to examine what part of it might, by possibility, be abandoned.† They addressed a

* Writing to Luther, for instance, in August, he says: "Meanwhile they add the most atrocious menaces. In which matter, though I am not moved by my own danger, yet I do sometimes consider how much imbecility of purpose is betrayed by our chiefs—*quanta sit imbecilitas animi in nostris ἡγέμοσιν.*"

† Melancthon remarks, that, though this subject had been considered

memorial to their princes, recommending them to be prepared for some such sacrifice, to be assiduous in their attention to the Emperor, and to endeavour by private and familiar intercourse to allay his undue fears and soften his prejudices against them.

We do not find that the princes adopted that advice: it would have been unwise in them, as well as unworthy, to do so, since their principles were never in so much danger as when exposed to the seductions of secret and personal intrigue, nor was the enemy ever so inflexible as when he perceived a disposition to concede and conciliate in them. On the other hand, the papists, well knowing the advantages that they might gain by such intercourse, were assiduous in their endeavours to influence both the theologians and their masters. They sought their society; they employed caresses, threats, promises, as might seem most expedient; they turned the political circumstances of the moment to the same object, and endeavoured to shake the constancy of the princes by considerations of temporal interest.* All the resources of papal diplomacy were brought into

before, yet matters are very different in action and deliberation. To Luther, June 26: "*Scripsi tibi, ut mihi significes, si res ita tulerit, quantum cedere adversariis possemus. Res sunt antea deliberatæ, ut scis; sed semper aliter in acie se dant, quam antea sunt deliberatæ. . .*"

* Sleidan relates, that the Emperor refused to the Elector the customary inauguration into his states unless he returned to the bosom of the church; that he threatened to deprive George of Brandenburg of the guardianship of his nephew Albert, except on the same condition; and that he held out to the Landgrave the restoration of his kinsman Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg, and promised his mediation to settle some other dispute. A letter from Melancthon to Luther of July 20 contains this passage: "The princes have been privately solicited to desert the cause. This day they reply, and explain to the Emperor that their religion forbids such treachery." Yet the same Melancthon, in a letter to one John Sillerbörner, written about the same time and quoted by Cœlestine, extolled the manners and morals of Charles beyond all bounds, applying to him the *Quo nihil majus meliusve terris Fata donavere*, &c.

action on German ground, in order to win over from their honest purpose a few religious individuals, not devoid indeed of sense and sagacity, though unskilled in the science of negotiation. But in vain. Neither divines nor princes were gained; nor could the papists boast, at the end of the very critical interval which I am about to describe, that they had made a single apostate.

The individual who seems to have been most in danger, and whose desire for reconciliation carried him at times almost to the borders of recantation, was Melancthon himself. Being decidedly at the head of the evangelical theologians at Augsburg, he was of course regarded with especial attention by the opposite party. The notorious moderation of his temper gave them hopes that his principles might prove equally flexible. Nay, his great talents and extensive learning, recommended by a characteristic modesty, won for him the disinterested esteem of many distinguished churchmen, and introduced him to their society. Secret conferences were opened between him and persons deputed by the papists, with the consent of the Elector and the other princes. Two of the least violent of that party, Hermann, provost of the chapter of Cologne, and Erhard of March, bishop of Liege, were in the first instance commissioned to negotiate with him. We find him likewise in correspondence with Cochläus, the most intemperate of all his adversaries; and there is extant a very remarkable letter,*

* It is published by Cœlestine, tom. iii. fol. 18. The Venetian ambassador obtained a copy of it, and sent it to the Senate; so that it soon became notorious. Seckendorf (l. ii. s. 33, § 71) expresses a very faint and perfectly unfounded doubt respecting its authenticity, followed by —aut si fecerit, ut lapsus humanum excusare deest. Any doubts that might be raised on that subject are removed by Beausobre, tom. iv. Liv. viii.

which he addressed, on the 6th of July, to Campeggio himself.

In this document, which even his most partial admirers scarcely affect to excuse, he ventured to declare, that the Protestants were prepared to refuse no conditions on which peace might be granted them. "We profess no doctrine different from the church of Rome; we have even repressed many persons, who would have sown pernicious tenets. . . . We are disposed to give obedience to the Church, if only, in accordance with that peculiar clemency which it has always practised towards all men, it will dissemble or relax on a very few points, which, even if we wished it, we could not now alter. . . . Give no credit to our slanderers, who maliciously corrupt our writings, and impute to us whatever seems better calculated to inflame the public hatred against us. . . . We will obey and reverence the authority of the Roman pontiff and the whole ecclesiastical polity, if only the Roman pontiff will not reject us. . . . Since the concord can now be effectually established, if your equity on the one part will in some few matters close your eyes, and if we on the other shall restore you a sincere and faithful obedience. Then why reject your suppliants?—why persecute them by fire and sword? . . . There is no account, on which we have to endure so much odium in Germany, as our firm defence of the Roman doctrine. And this fidelity to Christ and to the Roman church, by God's will, we will continue to nourish even to our latest breath. . . . A slight dissimilitude in our rites appears to be the only obstacle to concord. And the canons themselves affirm, that such dissimilitude does not dissolve the unity of the Church."*

* Pallavicino, who carefully records this letter (on the authority dell'Eretico Celestino) remarks, that Melancthon, who was the head of his

It does not appear whether this composition of Melancthon received the approbation of the princes, or whether he may not in this instance have exceeded the general commission, which they unquestionably gave him. When we refer to the letters written by Luther at that time, and in reference to that subject, we certainly find in them not a violent, yet not so humble a spirit. Melancthon had previously inquired of him, to what extent concessions might be made to the enemy. In his reply (dated June 29, and already cited), he showed a decided reluctance to make himself responsible for any concessions which might seem expedient to others—"if the cause be mine alone (he said), let me be the sole agent." But in general terms he consented to the compromise of everything, except the Gospel. Yet was this so vague a declaration, as to afford very little light to his colleague, to guide him through the intricacies of a minute and detailed controversy, bearing the name of negotiation.

On the 6th of July he expressed to Nicholas Hausman some hopes from the moderation of certain influential individuals in the opposite party: "Many bishops are inclined to peace and despise the sophists, Faber and Eck.

party, was of a disposition rather perverted than perverse, and by nature as desirous of peace as Luther was of contention—a suspicious compliment from an uncompromising enemy. Lib. iii. cap. iv. The following are some of the expressions: "*Ego igitur duxi ad R. D. T. scribendum esse, ut et nos intelligeret unice cupidos esse pacis atque concordiae, nec detrectare ullam faciundæ pacis conditionem. Dogma nullum habemus diversum a Romana Ecclesia. . . . Parati sumus obedire Romanæ Ecclesiæ, modo ut illa pro sua clementia, qua semper erga omnes homines usa est, pauca quædam vel dissimulet, vel relaxet, quæ jam ne quidem si velimus mutare queamus. . . . Adhæc Romani pontificis auctoritatem et universam politiam ecclesiasticam reverenter colimus. . . . Hanc fidem Christo et Romanæ Ecclesiæ ad extremum spiritum Deo volente præstabimus.*" Cælestin. loc. cit.

The Elector of Mayence" (to whom he addressed a long hortatory letter on the same day,) "is pronounced to be very desirous of concord. The Emperor treats our prince not only kindly, but almost reverently." But his distrusts, his uncertainties were much more strongly expressed in several other epistles written during the same month. "It is impossible," he said on the 9th to Justus Jonas, "that we should ever come to any agreement respecting doctrines . . . but what I could wish, and am almost disposed even to hope, is this: that our doctrinal dissensions may be suspended, and we may attain a political concord." To Melancthon, on the 13th—"I think that you must by this time have had enough and more than enough of experience not to see, that Belial can by no devices be reconciled to Christ, and that there is not any hope of concord from a council, so far as doctrine is concerned. I have written this to our prince. . . . Assuredly I for my part will neither yield, nor suffer to be restored so much as a hair's breadth. I will rather endure every extremity. Let the Emperor do all he can. . . . However, since those treacherous devils do so trifle with us by their promise of a council, I would so far trifle, along with them, as to appeal from their threats to that nothing and never-to-be council, that in the mean time we may have peace. I see no reason yet to fear violence from them." To Justus Jonas he wrote, on the same day: "Who does not see that the Emperor has no decided course in this matter, but is only carried and driven about. But if you will stand firm and yield nothing, you will oblige them to take some other policy. Our cause has less to fear from force and menaces, than from those satanical artifices, which I have always feared more than anything." And to Spalatin: "I believe the Emperor's clemency to be great. . . . but I have no hope that he will prove

favourable to our cause, howsoever he may wish it; for what is one man against so many demons?"

On the 15th he addressed a somewhat more formal epistle to the three theologians, together with Agricola, and herein he recommended them to leave the Diet, contented with what they had obtained: "*I absolve you, in the name of the Lord, from that assembly. Immer wider heim, immer heim! Hope not for concord—hope not for toleration—but only that they may permit you to teach in your own way, and grant you peace, remaining themselves in their own impiety. . . . If the Emperor shall choose to publish an edict, let him publish it; he has published one at Worms. Let us obey the Emperor as Emperor—nothing more, or farther. Heim, heim! May the Lord Jesus preserve and console you! . . .*" At this crisis he expressed, in three several letters (to Spalatin, Melancthon, and Justus Jonas), his great sorrow that he could not be present at Augsburg—"I am extremely vexed and indignant that I cannot be with you bodily; and, were it not a temptation of God to throw myself into so many dangers, you would certainly have already seen me among you."

On the 21st he thus wrote to Justus Jonas: "I am delighted that Philip is beginning to find out by experience the characters of Campeggio and the Italians. That philosophy of his believes nothing except from experience. I for my part would not trust a single *My* either to the Emperor's confessor, or to any other Italian. For my friend Gaetan was so fond of me, that he was ready to shed blood for me—to wit my own blood. Es sind Buben. An Italian, when he is good, is of all men the best; but such is a prodigy as rare as a black swan. . . . I could wish to be the victim of this council, as Huss was the victim of that of Constance, which was the latest papal triumph."

Thus much appears from these letters : That Luther was not a party to the epistle of Melancthon ; that he at least was so far from perceiving no doctrinal difference between the parties, as to think the differences irreconcilable ; that he was in general adverse to the tampering conciliatory policy then in operation at Augsburg ; that he would boldly have broken off the negotiations as they then stood ; and that he had little fear of the consequences. And such was the ground most worthy of the champion and principles of the Reformation.

In such negotiations and correspondence was spent the interval between the reading of the confession and of the document composed in reply to it. The Emperor, being indeed informed that the works of Luther contained many strong denunciations and some offensive dogmas, to which no allusion was made in the official manifesto, required the princes to inform him whether they had any additions to make to their confession. They referred the question to the theologians ; and these discreetly replied, that for the present they wished to adhere to the confession ; that there were indeed other matters, objectionable but not essential, which might be kept in reserve, to be advanced, or not, in the course of the future deliberations, as expediency might require ; and that a clause should be inserted in the confession to that effect. Such was the answer returned by the princes to the Emperor : they admitted that for the advancement of concord they had suppressed their reprobation of some abuses, but they protested against their silence being interpreted as an approval of them.

The Roman Catholic theologians delivered their reply to the Emperor on the 13th of July ; but on examination he found it so violent, as to make it necessary to return it to them, with some expression of displeasure and a command to correct its asperity. It is not known what

were the alterations introduced, but, the document being at length so modified as to represent both his doctrines and his spirit, he caused it to be read in full Diet on the 3rd of August; having previously invited the Protestant princes to accede to it, out of deference to his authority, as protector of the integrity of the Church and the religious unity of the empire.* In the conclusion, after an invective against Luther, it was admitted, that many abuses had crept into the Church, and that the Emperor by no means defended them; and then were repeated the old customary promises of self-reformation.

Luther had long foreseen this policy; and a letter to Agricola,† written on the 30th of June, gives evidence of his sagacity: "The hopes which are built on the clemency of the Emperor are nothing. My opinion is this: the High Priests have induced him to examine the cause, and when they shall have heard our apology, they will come to what decision they choose. At the same time they will hold forth the pretence, that they have given us a sufficient hearing, and thus will cast on us the false charge of pertinacity the more boldly and speciously, because, after being heard and admonished, we have still refused obedience to the Emperor."

* Melancthon (which is strange) was not present at the reading—ego non interfui—but he thus announced the event to Luther: "Tandem audivimus confutationem 3^o Augusti, et sententium Cæsaris, quæ satis aspera est. Nam priusquam legeretur Confutatio, Cæsar inquit, se in ea sententia quam ibi prescribi curasset mansurum esse et petere ut idem faciant principes nostri: quod si nolint facere, se, cum sit defensor ecclesiæ, nullum schisma in Germania tolerare. Hæc fuit orationis summa; quæ quanquam esset atrox, tamen cum confutatio esset valde pueriliter scripta, mira gratulatio secuta est lectionem. Nullus Fabri liber extat tam ineptus, quo non sit ineptior hæc confutatio." Epist. Phil. Melancthonis. Ep. 12.

† No. 1238, Edit. De Wette.

The Refutation was not published, and even copies of it, when requested by the Protestants, were at the time refused. But those of them who heard it were filled with confidence in their own opinions, seeing how feeble were the arguments, which, after such elaborate preparation, were urged against them ; besides, the very fear of publicity, so strongly evinced by their adversaries, gave them new and just grounds of satisfaction and assurance.*

Two days afterwards (August 5), on another interview with the Emperor, as the Protestants persisted in demanding unconditionally a copy of the Refutation, and he in refusing it, and as he began to be irritated by their firmness, the Electors of Mayence and Brandenburg interposed, and requested him to accept their offices for the peaceful arrangement of the differences. Thus the affair was placed on different ground. No longer conducted by direct intercourse between the chiefs of the opposite parties in open Diet, it was reduced to a matter of private and amicable negotiation.

On the following day the mediators were appointed, and among them, as if at once to stifle every hope of impartiality, were some of the most violent enemies of the Reformation. They were six in number—the Elector of Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Saltzburg, the Bishops of Strasburg, Wurtzburg, and Bamberg, and Duke George of Saxony. On their appointment they received some wholesome counsel from the Bishop of Augsburg

* The Roman Catholics justified the refusal by such reasons as these : That the Legate would have sacrificed the dignity of the See by putting it on a level with the rebels ; that many paltry and equivocating answers to particular parts of the Refutation would have been devised and published and obtained credit with the people ; so that disrepute would have been thrown upon the whole document and upon the church whence it proceeded. See Pallavicino, lib. iii. cap. iii.

as well as from the Archbishop of Mayence; but the admonitions of the former, pointing to the love of truth and the exercise of justice, produced only a personal dispute with the Archbishop of Saltzburg and the Elector of Brandenburg; and those of the Archbishop were lost upon understandings already prejudiced, and passions already inflamed by party and professional animosity.

On the 7th of August they held their first meeting with the Protestants. On this occasion they repeated the oft contested arguments respecting the authority, splendour, extent, antiquity of the church, and enforced them, after the fashion of that church, by insults and menaces. These last were directed against the Elector; he was assured by one of the princes that not his crown only, but his life too was at stake; and that the Emperor was prepared to proceed to the last extremities against his subjects as well as himself, unless they should repent and return to the faith of their forefathers. The Prince, though mortified by the outrage, and even for the moment appalled by the intimation, presently recovered his wonted resolution.

Meanwhile the Landgrave, when he had heard the Refutation and perceived the spirit of the Emperor, and when, on the interference of the Elector of Mayence, he saw the new and dangerous channel into which the dispute was to be turned, thought that the moment to follow the advice of Luther, at once to quit the Diet and withdraw to his "home." Accordingly he requested the Emperor's permission to depart, pleading the sickness of his wife. Receiving no immediate reply, he feigned as though he purposed to remain, and made a show of preparation for an approaching tournament. But on the 7th of August, after witnessing, in the insolence of the "Mediators" towards a brother prince and reformer, an indication of the temper in which their intervention was

to be conducted, he took his measures immediately. He retired from the city during the night by a private gate, without any further communication with Charles, and returned to his dominions. He had signified his intention to no one, and left behind him only a note to the Elector assuring him of his unalterable constancy in the cause of the Gospel, and his determination rather to shed the last drop of his blood than abandon it. His ministers remained at the Diet, instructed to give their vigorous support to the Protestant cause.

This decided proceeding excited, not only the indignation of the Emperor, but also his fears lest the bold example should be followed. He immediately sent for the rest of the party; he addressed them with great courtesy, and offered all his exertions for the restoration of their union with the church. They, on their side, after excusing the departure of the Landgrave, engaged to remain at Augsburg till the termination of the Diet. And when some dissatisfaction expressed by the Protestants, at some unusual disposition of the imperial soldiers, had been removed, the negotiations were resumed.

At the next meeting, on the 9th of August, they presented their reply to the arguments urged against them at that preceding. They pleaded, as on so many other occasions, the truly evangelical character of their faith, and their readiness to renounce any article which should be proved unscriptural; they exclaimed against the cowardice and absurdity of condemning them on the mere reading of a refutation, a copy of which had not been so much as communicated to them; they repeated their demand of the council so long held out to them; they besought the mediators at least to abstain from menaces, as being a departure from their pacific office; and promised on their parts to make every concession which should be consistent with piety and conscience.

This answer was signed by the same names which were subscribed to the Confession, with the addition of Nuremberg and Reutlingen and four other cities of less consequence, which deserved, however, the greater glory, through that very weakness, for so bold a step taken at so dangerous a crisis.*

In reply to this the mediators urged at their next meeting, on the 11th, That the Protestants had been sufficiently heard by the public recital of their Confession; that to communicate the Refutation would only be to invite a dispute on points of faith, which the Emperor had expressly forbidden, under the heaviest penalty; that the Refutation, if published, would be liable to the same insults which had been heaped upon the Edict of Worms; that pleas of conscience came with an ill grace from men, who had permitted the church and the Word of God to be outraged by their preachers, to the overthrow of all ecclesiastical discipline, and who were already divided into so many sects of Iconomachs, Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, Feasting Brothers; that councils were vain expedients for the correction of persons who denied the infallibility of councils; and that they had no alternative but to return to the bosom of the church; yet, if they could allege anything in their defence with the slightest show of justice, that the mediators would refer it to the Emperor—if not, that they would signify at once the decision to which they had come.

The above are, of course, very meagre abridgments of very long discourses; but they are sufficient to indicate the points on which the argument turned; and this is as much, perhaps, as is at all important to the general purposes of history.

The Princes perceived from this answer, that the

* Seckend. l. ii. sect. 30, § 67.

mediators were in fact nothing more than the organs of despotism, and that no sort of compromise was to be expected from them. It being thus evident that all advances to that end must be made by themselves, they proceeded to deliberate with their theologians as to the extent to which concession might conscientiously be carried; for this appeared to them the moment for making it. Not that this was the first occasion on which that subject had been discussed. Even before the meeting of the Diet, consultations had been held, with a view to understanding, what were the articles to which, under every circumstance, it was indispensable to adhere—what were those, which, in case of extremities, it might be expedient to abandon. These steps had not been taken without the knowledge of Luther, though it is clear, even from the short abstracts which have been given from his letters, that he was suspicious of the meditated compromises, if not altogether adverse to them.

The understanding at which the Protestant chiefs, ecclesiastic and secular, arrived, was seemingly this: That whatever was not in itself matter of doctrine, or involving any important doctrine, might be conceded; and as the theologians had been very desirous to establish, in the Confession and the recent deliberations on it, that there was no doctrinal difference between themselves and the church, it might appear to them that there was no obstacle in the way of reconciliation. If there existed no essential difference, and if they were prepared to yield all non-essentials, perfect concord might seem on the point of being restored. But in this dream they had not well calculated the character of their enemy, nor indeed did they perceive in how many different manners their own general principle might be interpreted, even by the members of their own party. The limit between what is essential and what is otherwise

was then so vague and indistinct, that scarcely any two among themselves would have agreed perfectly on that subject.

The particular propositions to which Melancthon and the other theologians were prepared, on these principles, to consent, as the terms of concord and perpetual reunion with the church, were the following: That the jurisdiction of the bishops should be restored; that the authority of the Pope should be acknowledged;* that he, on his part, should permit them the liberty of preaching the Gospel, and the lawful administration of the Sacraments; that he should grant them the communion in both kinds, seeing that they condemned not those who communicated in one only, and confessed that the body of Jesus Christ, together with his blood, existed under the single species of bread; that he should allow marriage to the clergy; and that he should confirm, or at least not dissolve those, whether of priests or of monks, which had already taken place. In respect to the mass, the difference in the manner of its celebration was so insignificant, that if the above conditions should be ratified, there would remain no difficulty on that subject; and as to the distinction of meats, and such like observances, any dissension would be obviated as soon as the bishops should be restored to their authority.†

* They argued: "*Periculosum esse veterem consuetudinem sine gravibus et magnis causis convellere et abrogare; et licet Pontifex sit Anti-Christus, tamen sub eo (sicut Israelitas sub Pharaone) vivi posse, dummodo sinceram de Deo doctrinam et verum sacramentorum usum non oppugnet.*"—Ap. Seckendorf, lib. ii. sect. 30, § 67.

† Together with his celebrated letter, Melancthon sent to Campeggio nine "*Conditions of Concord*,"—the same, or very nearly the same, in substance with those in the text. Cœlestine mentions that Campeggio immediately submitted them to his theologians; and that Cochläus, so far from accepting them, instantly applied his talents to confute them. This composition is extant.—Cœlest. tom. iii. fol. 18. There is also a

Such a project of reformation was indeed a very suitable illustration of Melancthon's letter to Campeggio; and it perfectly explained his meaning, and evinced the sincerity with which he said that the Protestants were not prepared to refuse any conditions which might be offered to them.

The princes, however, were not disposed so implicitly to obey their divines as to descend at once to this humiliation. Pontanus annexed a marginal remark to their paper: "That it was impossible to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, who claimed a divine right and was in truth no other than the Antichrist predicted by St. Paul, and now revealed." Bolder counsels prevailed; and whatever may have been the resolutions secretly taken, the proposal which they offered in their public reply to the mediators—a document of considerable weight and dignity, delivered on the 13th of August—was confined in effect to this: They tendered obedience to the bishops so far as the Word of God might permit them; they repeated, with energy, their demand of a council, of which the decisions should be conclusive of the controversy; and, perceiving that the present method of discussion could not possibly lead to any friendly result, they suggested that the Emperor should appoint a committee, from members of both parties, for the further examination of the subjects in dispute. He consented. The commission of the mediators thus ended; and it was succeeded by another, a somewhat different, but scarcely more auspicious, instrument of pacification.

On the day following, the Emperor appointed the committee. It consisted of fourteen persons—seven of each party—of whom four were princes, four lawyers,

letter of Melancthon to the secretary of Campeggio, of August 5, written in the same abject strain: "*Si quid hæreret in ecclesiis incommodi, paulatim Episcoporum diligentia corrigi posset, &c. &c. . .*"

and six theologians. The princes on the one side were John Frederic, son of the Elector, and the Margrave of Brandenburg; on the other the Bishop of Augsburg, and George of Saxony;* the lawyers for the Protestants, Pontanus and Heller; for the Catholics, Bernard of Hagen and Vehe; the theologians, Melancthon, Schepf, and Brentz; Eck, Wimpina, and Cochläus. Of the Catholic party, the Bishop of Augsburg and Vehe were remarkable for the moderation of their opinions.

The deliberations began on the 16th; and, after some days of fruitless discussion, it was supposed that the chance of concord would be increased, if the number of the committee were reduced. Accordingly the four princes and four of the theologians were withdrawn, and the new body consisted of six members, of whom one only was an ecclesiastic—Eck, Melancthon, and the four lawyers. Thus the consultations were continued (on August 24), but with no better success than those which preceded them. I shall not enter at any length into the particulars of these debates, nor present in any detail either the opinions advanced or the arguments by which they were supported. A new method of deliberation was now opened. With the Emperor and the mediators the discussions had been general: they had scarcely proceeded beyond the vague assertion of certain general principles and general professions, directed to the broadest view of the affair as a whole, and descending very little to particular points of controversy; but the reverse was now the manner of proceeding. The committee entered into a separate examination of every article in the Confession, and undertook to ascertain the real meaning of dubious expressions, as applied to the actual state of

* Henry, Duke of Brunswick, was the prince appointed; but, as he had been sent on a special mission to the Landgrave, George of Saxony acted for him.

opinions and circumstances. This was of course a far more difficult and tedious office, requiring the exercise of more tact and ingenuity, as well as much more patience.

The twenty-one articles of the Confession were examined first. On fifteen of these the committee came to an entire, on three more (12, 20, and 21) to a partial, agreement;* and to make a show of perfect unanimity on matters of doctrine, they referred the other three (11, 14, and 15), on which they did not at all agree, to the second chapter of the Apology. This was supposed to treat of matters not essential, whereon concession might be made on either side, without the compromise of any Scriptural truth. This arrangement was certainly concluded in the spirit of conciliation; and we may observe that the same spirit was particularly shown in the handling of the tenth article, which was so worded by the one party as to convey, by plausible interpretation, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and was tacitly inter-

* Among these was the doctrine of justification by faith, with certain explanations. This was considered as a great triumph for the reformers: that they had extorted from the adversary the essential doctrine on which the whole of their work was built. But it has often been remarked that the Roman Church was seldom pertinacious on mere points of abstract doctrine, provided they could keep externals undisturbed; nor perhaps was its doctrine on this point ever very positive. It is true that some profitable practices were founded on the meritoriousness of works; yet to preserve the practices it might be sometimes convenient to "explain" the theory, or even to allow a sort of liberty of private opinion, provided it led to no overt act of independence. However, it is curious, that while Camerarius, on the one side, boasts of the triumph of the Protestants on this article, Pallavicino, on the other, exults in their concessions, and even instances the following:—"That we are not justified by faith *alone*, but by faith and grace; that it is necessary to perform the good works commanded by God; that in this life, not only the elect, but the reprobate, are contained in the church; that man possesses free will, though he cannot obtain justification without divine grace."—Lib. iii. cap. iv.

puted by the other in that sense; and thus it passed without dispute or question among the points of concord. Then they proceeded to the discussion of "the abuses," whither the whole difficulty of the arrangement was now removed.

Even here were three questions on which they arrived at a real or apparent agreement—confession, abstinence from meats and other observances, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction,* which of course included the power of excommunication; for though the Catholics did not expressly consent to the restrictions imposed by the Confession upon the first and third of these, nor approve the principle on which the liberty was claimed in respect to the second, yet, in belief that the restoration of the ecclesiastical authority would gradually lead to the restoration of usages for the most part dependent on it, they would probably have waived their objections on these points; but on others, of much more importance, the parties could not attain even the shadow of unanimity.

On the retrenchment of the cup, the Catholics required from the others an express admission that it was indifferent whether the communion was administered under both species or under one only, so that it might

* "Nos (said Melancthon on August 22) moderatissimas conditiones proponimus. Reddimus obedientiam episcopis et jurisdictionem; et communes cæremonias pollicemur nos esse instauraturos."—Epist. 15. In the same letter he expressed his wonder at the rashness of the adversaries, who seemed to apprehend nothing to themselves from having recourse to arms. But even Camerarius admits that, in the reduced committee, when the whole burden fell on Melancthon, he showed some symptoms of wavering and weakness. We may mention, on the same authority (De Phil. Melancthon. Ortus, &c. p. 140), that he was extremely terrified by a comet, or some other heavenly phenomenon, which appeared at this time.

be thus *given*, as well as taken, without sin;* and this was refused. On the celibacy of the clergy, they offered to tolerate those already married till the decision of a council, but on two conditions: that they should request the dispensation of the Pope; and that none should marry in future, on the penalty of deprivation. The Protestants rejected both these conditions. In regard to monastic vows, the Protestants consented that the monasteries still existing in their states should remain undisturbed, in enjoyment of their revenues and in observance of their rules; but they insisted that any individuals wishing to abandon the profession should have that permission; and also that the property of the monasteries already abolished should remain at the disposal of the civil authorities, for the maintenance of the poor, the support of churches and schools, and other pious purposes. To these stipulations the Catholics refused their assent.

But the canon of the mass was the question which led to the most difficult discussions. The Catholics demanded its entire restoration; and to delude their opponents into this concession, they entered into consideration of the doctrine, and were at great pains to explain in what sense the mass was a sacrifice, and in what sense it was not—that it was not a positive and literal sacrifice, but one mystical and figurative†—not a meri-

* “*Nos excusavimus sumentes; de porrigentibus hæret res. . . . Tuam igitur sententiam audire volumus.*”—Melancthon to Luther. The Council of Basle had conceded the whole to the Bohemians, on the understanding now demanded by the Roman Catholics.

† “*Est ergo missa non revera victima, sed mysterialis et repræsentativa. . . .*”—Cœlest. tom. iii p. 45. Luther wrote thus to Hausman on September 23: “In the former negotiation, the adversaries required that we should admit private masses; that we should retain both canons, with a convenient gloss, by which the sacrifice should be interpreted as a

torious sacrifice conferring justification—a work having of itself the power of reconciliation to God—but one simply Eucharistical, a sacrifice of commemoration and thanksgiving, yet still a sacrifice, and by consequence (though they did not openly press the consequence) a propitiation for sin; and if for sin, for the sins of the dead as well as of the living. Thus by this artful doctrinal concession, which was afterwards repudiated by the Council of Trent, they would have seduced the Protestants into the restoration of that which they valued far more than the doctrine—the practice; and this, not more perhaps through love of the mere lucrative profits, which were swept away by the abolition of private masses and the substitution of a more spiritual system, than for the sake of an apparent triumph, on the most important ground, which would have levelled the most conspicuous bulwark of the Reformation. For the alteration in the service of the mass, if not the boldest measure of the Saxon reformers, was certainly the most tangible of their changes; it was the strongest mark of distinction between themselves and the church; it was especially the badge or banner of the Reformation, insomuch that, were it abandoned to the enemy, all persons of both parties, even the least instructed in arguments and principles, would immediately both see and feel the humiliation of the act, while very few would care to enter into the abstruse question on the *nature* of the sacrifice, or appreciate the spiritual concession by which the papists had bought their victory.

commemorative representative sacrifice; that we should declare it free to communicate in one or in both kinds; that we should separate married monks and priests from their wives. On these terms they offered to permit both kinds in the Sacrament, and to tolerate the above marriages, on account of the children born in them, till a council—just as brothels are tolerated. . . . Our party did not consent to these conditions, &c.”

Nevertheless Melancthon faltered ; at least so we may judge from the approving terms in which he wrote of the proffered interpretation of the doctrine of the sacrifice ; still it seems probable that he would not have yielded the point.* But Luther, whom he consulted, took a much more decided view of the question. He refused at once to restore the mass at any price ; he would listen to no compromise on this matter ; and he argued, with his wonted sagacity, that the interpretation proposed by the Roman Catholics, though in speculation it might seem innocent, would prove a deadly superstition in practice.†

Matters becoming thus hopeless, after much long and tedious negotiation, Melancthon received orders to make no further concession ; and then, after the reformers had repeated their offers, and urged once more the very moderate conditions on which they were prepared to return to the church, they required, should these be finally rejected, that all religious affairs should remain on their present footing till the decision of a general council ; and that both parties should proceed forthwith to treat on the best means of preserving at least a political unity. Thus terminated (on August 31) the exertions of the committees of reconciliation—with this result only, that they had ascertained the particular impediments that prevented the re-union, and at the same time discovered how hard, if not impossible, it would be to remove them. The controversy was then restored to

* Seckendorf (lib. iv. sect. 33, § 73) quotes a letter on the subject to the Margrave of Brandenburg.

† Luther wrote a very decided letter to the Elector on this matter on the 26th of August (No. 1287), arguing that no concession must be made either in respect to private masses or the canon of the mass, nor any interpretations of the latter accepted. The princes, no less than their theologians, were in fear and perplexity at this moment.

the place where it stood before this vain experiment was tried, and devolved once more into the hands of the Emperor.*

* “Ante triduum (writes Melancthon to Luther on September 1) finitum est colloquium nostrum. Nolumus enim conditiones de altera Sacramenti parte, de canone, de missa privata accipere, item de cœlibatu. Nunc igitur res ad imperatorem relata est.” Cœlestine dates the final close of the sessions of the committee on the last of August. Let us subjoin Melancthon’s own account of this negotiation in his own words. Thus he wrote at the moment to John Hesse, canon of Breslau:—“Ego paucis significabo quid in colloquio cum Eccio egerimus. . . . De justitia fidei concedebat nobis, quod fides justificet, sed cavillabatur vocem *sola*: usque tamen addi voluit opera, sed gratiam et Sacramenta et verba tanquam instrumenta. Hæc ego concessi posse addi; sed opera tamen exclusi. Postea de satisfactione pro pœnæ remissione. Item de meritis, etsi his exiguum quiddam, seu ut ipse loquitur minus principale tribuit, tamen nihil concessi. Reliquos articulos non improbant adversarii. Ubi ventum est ad utramque speciem, voluerunt ut et hoc diceremus licere uti una specie. Hic excusavimus sumentes . . . sed auctores prohibitionis utriusque speciei non excusavimus. De conjugio iniquissimas conditiones proposuerunt. Itaque non recepimus. Recusavimus etiam missas privatas restituere. Cæterum Epp. obtulimus jurisdictionem et palam professi sumus, nos politiam ecclesiasticam libenter conservaturos esse, et optare ut Epp. præsent ecclesiis. Polliciti sumus etiam nos servaturos quicquid est cæremoniarum indifferentiam, propter concordiam ecclesiarum alendam. Sed has conditiones nondum acceperunt Epp. Nunc igitur expectamus violenta edicta. Nulla enim moderatione satisfieri sibi pontificiæ factionis homines patiuntur. Volunt nos prorsus perditos. Vale. 6th Septemb. 1530.”

CHAPTER XXXVII.

TERMINATION OF THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

Luther counsels courage and trust in Christ—opposition to the schemes of reconciliation—expressed in his letters—his perfect comprehension of the Papacy—observations of Pallavicino on the policy of Rome—adverse principles of the two parties—the Emperor makes some further attempts—his first proposal rejected—his reply through Truchses—his menaces—firmness of the Protestants—conference on the restitution of the monastic revenues—threatening memorial of Charles—the negotiations then taken up by Truchses and Vehe—their very moderate proposals, after some deliberation, rejected—they offer still another suggestion—refused—fourteen articles presented by the Protestants—Decree of the Diet—substance—its moderation—bold reply of the Protestants—apology for the Confession—violence of the Elector of Brandenburg—calm answer of Pontanus—the Elector has his audience and departs—further discussions on the Turkish war—the Protestants decline the proposals made to them—the Recess of the Diet—more severe than the Decree—a sort of triumph for the Catholics—such as they had gained at Worms—a repetition of the former under altered circumstances.

It may be observed, that during these deliberations very little mention was made of the name of Luther. The Catholic members of the committee did indeed, on one occasion, provoke some discussion respecting his doctrines; and produced, with great triumph, a number of paradoxes and other indefensible extravagances found in his works. But the Protestant divines at once replied, that they were there, not to defend the opinions of any individual, but the doctrine of the Confession. The deputies of Nuremberg, on departing for the Diet, received an express order from the Senate not to bind

their faith in any manner to the writings or authority of Luther. It may seem strange that the father of the Reformation should have been thus disclaimed, as it were, by his own disciples; but this was in appearance only. So long as there remained any hope of reconciliation, it was no more than common discretion and courtesy, to remove out of the sight and thoughts of the papists their most detested foe. But in spirit he was not absent from the deliberations of his sons; and he influenced, if he did not altogether direct them, by his counsels. "Stand firm (he wrote to Spalatin on August 28) on the Gospel, and trust to that alone against the snares of the adversary; and should it come to pass, that you concede anything manifestly against the Gospel, and shut up that eagle in a wretched sack, Luther, do not doubt it, Luther will come, and in a magnificent fashion set the noble bird at liberty."

Two days earlier he very strongly expressed, to the same friend, his opinion of the pending attempts at reconciliation: "I hear, and in truth with no great pleasure, that you, at Augsburg, have undertaken a wonderful work—that, forsooth, of bringing the Pope and Luther to concord; but the Pope will never consent, and Luther deprecates. Take care that you do not prettily lose your pains. But if you should succeed, and bring them together against the wills of both, then will I presently follow your example, and reconcile Christ with Belial."

On the same day he wrote as follows to Melancthon: "Pray consider. What is there in that quarter which is not deceitful and treacherous? What is there that I have ever less hoped, or that I now less wish, than negotiations about an agreement in doctrine?—as if we had power to overthrow the Pope, or as if our doctrine could be preserved without detriment to

the popedom. . . . In a word, I am altogether opposed to any such attempt. Such a concord is wholly impossible, unless the Pope shall first allow his office to be abolished. It was enough that we gave a reason of our faith, and asked for peace: why do we vainly hope to convert them to the truth?"

Luther alone, among all the chiefs of the Reformation, appears to have penetrated the real mystery of the papal diplomacy. He alone seems to have clearly comprehended what a genuine Romanist really meant by the unity of the church; and to have seen that the very first principle of its policy and law of its existence was to yield nothing. His acquaintance with that secret shows itself chiefly in his private correspondence, in occasional short and abrupt remarks: on which indeed it is impossible to present a better commentary than that furnished by the Roman Catholic historian, in his account of these very deliberations.

After mentioning that Melancthon was forbidden to make further "condescensions," Pallavicino * proceeds to observe, that it was useless for him to have conceded anything, unless he had conceded everything. "In this respect the Lutherans and the Catholics were not on equal terms. The former, whatever sacrifices they might make, were still the conquerors, if they did not sacrifice everything. The latter sacrificed everything, if they sacrificed only one single point: just as the whole fortress is lost, however bravely all the rest of its bulwarks may be defended, if but the narrowest breach be practicable by the enemy. The whole of our system of faith depends upon one single article, and that is, the infallible authority of the church—so that, the very moment we should abandon any part of it, the whole would fall, it being

* Lib. iii. cap. iv.

clear that its individuality either remains entirely, or entirely perishes. And hence originates the received doctrine of St. Thomas, that one cannot disbelieve any article, be it what it may, without being in consequence void of faith in all: since in such case, though the others might perhaps be believed, it would be through private and human arguments, not through that supernatural object and motive common to all, which constitutes the act of faith."

I may here mention that, in pursuance of this policy, Campeggio absented himself at the reading of the Confession. He took no visible part in the disputations; he kept aloof, as it were, in the character of a judge, and left the cause to the ostensible management of the Emperor. His orders—his principles—were to make no concession; and if any treaty on mutual compromise had been concluded, without doubt he would have cancelled it.

Now reflecting on this, and at the same time considering that the first principle of the Reformation was the right of private judgment on religious matters, and that all the subsequent acts and writings of the reformers were guided more or less by that principle—considering that the plea of conscience, founded of course on the same basis, was now urged as irresistible both by divines and princes—can we conceive any doctrine more irreconcilable with that which taught, that so little as a single exercise of private judgment, on a single religious question, amounted to total apostacy? Luther did not exaggerate. It was as impossible for any sound and permanent concord to subsist between him and the Pope as between Christ and Belial. Clement was as well aware of this as Luther; and with him the words concord and unity had no other real meaning than the

restitution of his own authority, and the absolute surrender of the rebels.

Nevertheless the Emperor, who was not perhaps very deeply initiated in the principles of either side, and who saw no reason why religious, like political disputes, should not be arranged by concessions from both parties, or the submission of one, resumed his negotiations with the Protestants. On the 7th of September, after a consultation with the Catholic chiefs, he sent for them, and, in the presence of only five of their adversaries, with great moderation of tone and language and probably with perfect sincerity, urged on them the accustomed remonstrances; and after expressing his surprise how four or five princes, of inconsiderable power, should persist thus pertinaciously in supporting doctrines which were either altogether novel or already condemned, yet, since with so much earnestness they demanded a council for the decision of the differences, he promised to employ his exertions to obtain one—insisting, however, on this stipulation: that they, in the first instance, should place all religious concerns on their former footing, and restore everything that they had destroyed.

In making this proposal, Charles acted as the mere organ of the papal party, whose object would have been attained by the immediate triumph, and who would then have pleaded that the unity of the church was re-established, and the pretext for a council removed; but the Protestants were not deceived by so thin an artifice. Immediately, and in the most respectful terms, they declined the condition: they could not, they said, themselves approve the abuses which they had condemned in their Confession, nor, even were they so disposed, could they force them upon subjects now too enlightened to receive them.

In his reply, delivered after due deliberation by Truchses, grand master of the court of Ferdinand, the Emperor, desisting from that attempt, had recourse to the expedient of menaces tempered by expressions of mildness: The acts of the conferences had convinced him that the Protestants had many important doctrinal differences with the church, and he was astonished that they had rejected the conciliatory and condescending proposals made to them by the committee. It was their duty to abide by the decision of the majority, and not arrogantly to prefer their own opinion to that of the church, and their own wisdom to that of the Pope and all the other princes of Christendom. He then pressed them to renew the interrupted conferences; he promised to preside at them himself; he would grant them yet eight days longer to complete the work of concord; but, if they still refused, he was bound to inform them that they must expect the treatment which awaited schismatics, and that their safety was concerned in the discharge of their duty.

To renew the conferences under that threat, and under the auspices of a prince now avowedly their opponent, would have been to seal the fate of the Reformation—to deliver up the sacred cause to the mercy of the enemy, without disguise, without the shadow of a pretext, or the prospect even of illusory conditions. The Protestants were incapable of this treachery.

They replied (on the 9th of September) with perfect firmness. After the oft-repeated assurance that they were willing to abandon every opinion not founded in Scripture, they proceeded to re-assert their principle, that in a matter of conscience the decision of a majority could be of no weight, unless that majority were in itself a legitimate excuse before the tribunal of God. They declined to resume the conferences as useless, since they

had no further concession to offer; but they declared that their utmost care would be directed to preserve a political peace, so that the Emperor should have no cause to question either their fidelity to him, or their love for their common country.

With this answer terminated all direct communication between them and Charles. The negotiations which followed were of a more private character, and on that account more dangerous, and they afforded indeed very ingenious specimens of the pontifical diplomacy. But as they produced no result, I think it needless to pursue them into any details. A question, however, came into discussion at that moment, of which little mention had been previously made, as one subordinate to the loftier matters of doctrine and principle—the application of the confiscated revenues of the monasteries. On this subject Henry, Duke of Brunswick, held a conference with the Electoral Prince of Saxony, in which he maintained the impiety of turning to any profane purpose the funds consecrated to God, while the other justified their present appropriation by consideration of their former abuse, of the habitual rapacity of the Roman See, and of the sanctity of those charitable objects to which they were now devoted. Meanwhile the Elector proposed a compromise. He offered to place the property in sequestration for the space of two years, on condition that, if a council were not assembled during that time, he should then divert them from the nourishment of idleness and superstition to some holier uses. A counter proposal, made by the Duke in his office of mediator, on the 12th of September, that matters should be restored to their original state till the meeting of a council, was at once rejected by the Princes. The condition, which the Emperor had failed to obtain generally, namely, the provisional retractation of all their acts, he was now desirous to

secure on a single point; not only because the point was in itself important, as tending to the restoration of monachism, but also, because an advantage gained on that question might have led, by a series of petty contests, to success on all the rest. But he was foiled in the very first movement by the discreet vigilance of his antagonists.

In a memorial, which he addressed to the Roman Catholic princes immediately after his last conference with the Protestants, he disclosed his final intentions. In this threatening document, after dwelling at length on his exertions for the restoration of concord, on the liberality of his offers to the Reformers, on his determination to maintain at all hazards the union betwixt church and state, on the military force which might be placed at his disposal, and the success which must follow its operations against persons whom kindness and remonstrance had alike failed to move—he still recommended that a council should be granted them on two conditions: That they should first be reconciled to the Roman church; and that they should make restitution of the ecclesiastical property. He then proposed, that, if they refused this overture, they should be pursued without any mercy, and without any respect for the substance, dignity, or life of any one. He concluded by requesting information as to the amount of military contributions which he might expect from the Catholics.

These conditions, as has been already mentioned, were refused; but the resources of diplomacy were not yet exhausted. The negotiation, having been conducted without effect by the Emperor and the princes of his party, by bishops and doctors and civilians, was next consigned to the hands of two statesmen, Truchses and Vehe. These individuals, though they held high offices

under Catholic princes,* were believed to entertain opinions favourable to the Reformation, which they had not on all occasions been careful to suppress. This reputation made them at that moment the most hopeful instruments of the papal party, as being little suspected, or least suspected, by the other. These two mediators proposed—with what authority it does not appear, but doubtless with sufficient—seven articles of such apparent equity, that, after some little modification, many Reformers were prepared to accept them.

According to these articles: The points in dispute were to be submitted to the determination of a council; the confiscated property was to be placed in sequestration and employed for the maintenance of the religious order; the contested ceremonies in the celebration of mass were to be referred to the decision of the same council; and in respect to the double communion and the marriage of the clergy the Protestants were left to adopt such a course, as they should be able to justify before the Emperor and the council. Excepting that article, which stipulated the appropriation of the monastic revenues to monastic purposes, there was not one which was not in fact a compliance with the demands of the Protestants. Both parties agreed, or pretended to agree, that the final decision of the disputed questions should rest with a council; but the difference was, whether, during the previous interval, the Protestants should retain their present advantages, or restore things to their ancient condition. The Catholics demanded the latter; the Protestants would have been contented with the former—the one expecting thus to obtain their end without the council—the other aiming at least to gain time, for the

* Vehe, Chancellor of Baden.

further extension and confirmation of their work. What effect these articles might have produced, had they been accepted by the Protestants and ratified, as they probably would not have been, by the Pope, is not an easy nor an important question. Suffice it to mention, that Luther, to whose opinion they were submitted, immediately rejected them; and that the princes, after some deliberations and differences, arrived, by a majority, at the same decision.

On the 20th of September Vehe had a secret conference in the church of St. Maurice with Pontanus and Melancthon. On this occasion, he endeavoured, first, to intimidate the Reformers, and then to induce them to accept the mediation of Truchses, praising with justice the prudence and moderation of that minister, and mentioning the influence that he possessed over the mind of his master. But the Elector and his party refused the proposal, as only tending to prolong a vain and insidious negotiation.

Yet not thus entirely discouraged, these two distinguished persons made still one final attempt to effect a nominal reconciliation. On the 22nd, as the decree was on the point of being read, they entreated the princes in the most affectionate terms to embrace at least their present suggestion, which would be the means, even at that last hour, of securing the clemency of the Emperor. It was no more than this: That they would request of him a longer interval for consideration than the decree allowed them, and promise to obey the decree during such interval. To promise even a temporary obedience would have been at that moment almost equivalent to entire submission. Besides it was some reason for rejecting the counsel, that it must necessarily have proceeded, even though the channel of its conveyance was not objectionable, from the papal party.

On the day preceding, the Protestants took their final step, not clearly in any hope of effecting a reconciliation, but only to give the enemy another opportunity of refusing what seemed to them a reasonable petition. They presented fourteen articles to the Emperor, requesting to be allowed to profess them, until the council should come to its decision. The first portion of them related to the doctrine of justification by faith, the necessity of good works, confession, penitence, satisfactions, and the efficacy of the Sacraments. They then proceeded: That to preserve the unity of the church it was not necessary for all its members to observe human traditions; that agreement on articles of faith and the use of the Sacraments was sufficient; that every rite, established as a means of grace without God's commandment, was for that reason in opposition to the Gospel and obscured the merits of Christ; that monastic vows and works, performed in that view, were of this description;* that ceremonies of human institution, when not in themselves wicked, and performed from a feeling of submission, charity, or edification, might be permitted; but that they were not to be enjoined as religious duties, nor was the neglect of them blameable; that the invocation of the saints was uncertain and dangerous, and disparaging to the office of Mediator, with which Christ was invested; that to deprive the people of the use of the cup was to violate the institution of God; that the compulsory celibacy of the clergy was in disobedience to the precept of St. Paul; that the mass was not efficacious to non-communicants, nor did it confer any grace of itself; "though when God gives us the Sacrament of the body and blood, He gives us His grace, which we receive by faith."

* Art. 9. "*Vota monastica et monachorum vitam, cum opinione cultus divini institutam, plane cum Evangelio pugnare.*" Cœlestin, tom. iii.

These articles were a fair re-statement of the doctrines of the Confession ; and in respect to some of the disputed questions, they expressed even a bolder condemnation of the tenets of Rome. And with them the negotiations did at length terminate.

The decree of the Diet respecting the religious disputes, which was read to the Protestants on the 22nd of September, was to the following effect : That the Confession of the Elector and his confederates had been publicly heard and confuted by arguments drawn from Scripture ; that in the subsequent conferences those princes had retracted part of their new doctrines, but still retained the rest ; that space was now allowed them, till the 15th of the ensuing April, to return to the doctrine of the church, at least till the decision of a council ; and that they were to make known their final resolution before that day. Meanwhile they were prohibited from publishing any new religious works, or making any fresh innovations, or preventing the return of their subjects to their ancient faith, or disturbing the monks in their revenues or observances. They were commanded to repress the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries. And in conclusion, the Emperor engaged on his part to exhort the Pope to convoke a council within six months from that time, which should be assembled within a year from the date of its convocation.

After the violent language, which had been so loudly reiterated by the chiefs of the dominant party, and the menaces which had been more than insinuated by the Emperor himself, what is remarkable in this manifesto is its moderation. It contained no harsh expressions, it conveyed no positive condemnation, it issued no oppressive command or prohibition—for the ordinance against the two sects of ultra-reformers was not so considered by the pure Lutherans; and it promised the very con-

summation to which the Protestants perpetually professed to look for the redress of all their grievances.

The Protestants, as if emboldened by this forbearance, replied with unflinching resolution : That they were far from acknowledging that their doctrine had been confuted by Scripture ; that on the contrary they still believed it to stand unshaken, and that they could have demonstrated this with certainty had a copy of the Refutation been granted them ; that, in regard to the prohibition of new publications and additional innovations in their religion, they must adhere to the protest of Spires, whereof the principle was—to suffer no interference with the right which each of them claimed to regulate the religious concerns of his own dominions according to his knowledge and conscience ; that as they had never forced any one to embrace their faith, so would they never repel any one from it. They promised to banish from their States all Anabaptists and Sacramentaries.

In the course of this address Pontanus presented to the court an “ Apology for the Confession,” which had been composed in reply to the Refutation—so far at least as the substance of its argument could be collected by those who heard it—and this was afterwards amplified into a document of some historical importance. But the Emperor, at the suggestion of his brother, refused to receive it.

On the following day, the Protestants being again summoned into the imperial presence, the Elector of Brandenburg addressed them in a very different tone ; he repeated the customary declaration respecting the indulgence of the Emperor and their contumacy, dwelling with particular warmth on the sacrilegious confiscation of the monastic revenues ; and in conclusion menaced them with the immediate and armed vengeance of the Emperor and all his allies. Pontanus, in the name of

the Protestants, immediately replied, in those calm, considerate expressions, which, if they do not prove the goodness of a cause, afford at least the strongest evidence of the resolution to maintain it :

“ The Confession which they had presented was derived from the word of God ; and resting on that foundation, it was placed above the efforts of the world and the devil ; in their conscience they could not approve the decree that had been read to them ; in themselves was neither obstinacy nor artifice ; they were prepared to concede all that the gospel permitted, and would explain with sincerity, on the appointed day, their creed and their intentions. In everything except religion their obedience was not surpassed by any princes of the empire, insomuch that they had learnt with surprise how some had bound themselves by oath to protect the imperial authority. If that league was intended against themselves, they had still greater cause for astonishment, since they had done no wrong to any one. As to the monastic property, which had been abandoned to them, they should be careful to turn it to such good purposes, as to leave their enemies no room for cavil.”

The only reply to this was a repetition of the former menaces and remonstrances, with the additional imputation, that the revolt of the peasants had been occasioned by the Reformers. And this slander called from them one additional and final profession of their confidence in the justice of God, in the purity of their faith, in the integrity of their conscience ; of their entire and notorious innocence of the charge now alleged against them ; and of their unshaken and devoted loyalty.

When these last altercations were thus ended, the Elector had his audience of leave. In the course of it he gave utterance to his conviction, “ that the doctrine of the Confession was so supported by evident proofs

from Scripture, as to defy all the efforts of the devil :” on which the Emperor presented his hand to him and said : “ Cousin, I should not have expected that from you.”* On this, the Elector retired in silence, and immediately departed on his return to his dominions.

His ministers remained, and some further discussions were attempted ; chiefly in the hope of inducing the Protestant States to contribute their contingent towards the Turkish war. To this end, a written promise was offered to them that their religious innovations should be tolerated till the council, on condition of their consent. The Protestants demanded that this promise should be officially authorised and published as a decree of the Diet ; and when the others evaded this demand, and gave that fresh evidence of insincerity, they decidedly rejected the proposal. The Recess of the Diet was then published, on the 19th of November, and was in substance as follows :†

Those who denied the corporal presence were proscribed ; the restoration of the ancient sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, in the places where they had been abolished, was commanded ; so was the degradation of all married priests ; nor were any other to be substituted for them, or instituted anywhere, without the approbation of the bishop. The images, which had been removed, were to be restored ; the freedom of the will was

* “ Ohm ! ohm ! das hätte ich mich zu E. Lbd. nicht versehen.” The Elector is described as delighted that the struggle was at last over—*læto et alacri animo quasi tripudians*.

† The Recess was the same as the Edict, as far as the article concerning monasteries. The stringent clauses which followed may have been added in consequence of the contumacy of the Protestants—or they might have been even more stringent, had these been less firm. Seckendorf (L. ii. s. 35, § 78, Addit) gives a compendium of a large volume called “ *Handlung der Religions sachen zu Augspurg*,” found in the archives of Wiemar, and supplying many deficiencies in Cœlestin and Chytræus.

asserted, and the opposite doctrine prohibited as insulting to God; so was the doctrine of justification by faith alone; obedience to the civil authorities was diligently inculcated; the preachers were commanded to exhort the people to the invocation of the Virgin and the saints, the observance of feasts and fasts, and attendance at mass; the monks were to obey the rules of their order; the clergy to lead a reputable and decorous life. All who should attempt any change in doctrine or worship were made liable to personal inflictions. The destroyed monasteries were to be rebuilt, and their revenues restored to the monks. The decree was to be executed by military force wherever it might not find voluntary obedience, and the States of the empire were to unite their forces with those of the Emperor for that purpose. The imperial chamber was to pursue the rebels, and the neighbouring States to execute its sentences. The Pope was to be solicited to convoke a council within six months, to be assembled within a year from the date of its convocation.*

This manifesto is of course to be considered as the act of the Emperor and the papal party. The ministers of the Protestant princes refused to subscribe to it, and the representatives of the imperial cities declined all participation in it. Still, as the others formed the great majority of the members, it went forth as the decree of the Diet, binding upon the whole Germanic body; for the principle, recently broached by the Protestants, that in matters of conscience the lesser number was not obliged by the decision of the larger, was yet acknowledged only by themselves. Its provisions were as pe-

* Pallavicino affects to consider the convocation of the council as conditional on the immediate submission of the Protestants. I can find no evidence for such a condition—the proceedings of the Diet render it improbable—and the Emperor certainly desired a council at any rate.

remptory and its penalties as stringent, as the purest papist could have required. In appearance it was a triumph for the Church. The great parliament of the empire, duly summoned and numerous attended, having undertaken to pass judgment on the religious differences, had investigated the points in dispute; listened to a public exposition of the arguments of both sides; instituted private conferences for the clearer examination of matters not easily reconciled in public; employed the space of five months in inquiry and discussion; and then, in the presence and under the direction of the Emperor himself, pronounced its deliberate decision against the Reformers. All this gave at least a show of justice to the verdict, and a pretext for exultation to the Catholics. The official judgment of the national authority was unequivocally pronounced in their favour.

But they had gained a similar triumph at Worms. Nine years before, when the divisions were yet obscure and indefinite, when the new opinions were yet unprotected by any party among the great, when not a single prince professed them, when Luther alone was the representative, if not the substance, of the entire Reformation—the high Church party had succeeded, at a Diet of equal celebrity with the present, in achieving a victory of exactly the same description. But in effect the edict of Worms was no real victory. As the events recorded in the foregoing pages will have shown, the violence of that manifesto, by rendering its execution impossible, gave an irrevocable advantage to those against whom it was levelled. An act of proscription emanating from so august a body, which decreed the destruction of one excommunicated monk and was unable to accomplish it, afforded the strongest evidence of the invincible strength, not of the individual thus assailed, but of the cause on

which he stood. The defender was indeed secure; but it was the rock which repelled the storm.

Since that time circumstances were materially altered and the changes had all taken place in one direction. The position, then occupied by Luther alone, was now filled by a numerous and organised party, conducted with great discretion by several princes of high personal respectability and power not inconsiderable—men accustomed to co-operate, and not always without success; whose cause was as sacred as it had ever been; who were devoted to its defence; and whom the habit of independence, the consciousness of a pure and holy purpose, and the evident protection of an approving Providence had confirmed and steeled in confidence. Against such a confederacy the Catholics now repeated the assault on the same ground, with the same weapons and in the same spirit, as before. The Recess of Augsburg was no more than the edict of Worms renewed and reconstructed according to the difference in external circumstances. The principle, the object, the meaning, everything but the letter was the same.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

REMARKS ON THE DIET—LUTHER AT COBURG.

Conversions to Protestantism consequent on this Diet—Confession of Zwingle—Melancthon's remarks on it and its authors—vain attempts of the Strasburgers at reconciliation with the Lutherans—the Tetrapolitan Confession—failure of the papal diplomatists in these negotiations, and their surprise at it—the clamour for a general council almost universal—real feelings of the Pope—of the Emperor—of the German princes—of the Lutheran party, on that subject—the Reformers gain by delay—discussion on the monastic revenues—that held to be a secular question by some moderate papists, and therefore within the Emperor's jurisdiction—remarks—the dangerous weakness of Melancthon—his second Letter to Campeggio—his suggestions such as would best have served the papacy—notions which may have led him to this infirmity—the fear of violence—the fear of dissensions—of wild and fanatical opinions—sentiments of Erasmus nearly those of Melancthon—his Letter to Campeggio—exhorting moderate measures—remonstrance of the divines and magistrates of Nuremberg—Letters of Luther from Coburg—to Erasmus—to J. Jonas—on the restoration of episcopal jurisdiction—of the authority of the Pope—his devotion in prayer—frequency and earnestness—account of Vitus Theodorus—his various occupations at Coburg—translation of *Æsop's fables*—his Letter to his son John—his Letter to his "Friends at Augsburg," from the "Diet of Grain-peckers."

THE first effect of the proceedings of this Diet was favourable to the Protestants. The character of their religious doctrine was relieved from much misrepresentation. The suspicions which had been attached to their principles of civil obedience, and which the insurrection of the peasants had magnified and irritated, were removed. Their respectful demeanour recommended their very constancy in resistance; and some of their more

moderate adversaries began to lean towards them, and not very long afterwards passed over to their party. Among these the most important converts were Herman, Archbishop of Cologne; Frederic Count Palatine, first minister of the Emperor and afterwards Elector; Eric Duke of Brunswick; the Dukes of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania; Joachim, Prince Electoral of Brandenburg, who soon afterwards succeeded his father; and George Ernest, son of Prince William of Hennenberg. Some free cities, hitherto papal or neutral, declared in favour of the Reformation; and even the Emperor and his brother carried away with them a less bigotted aversion for the faith and name of Protestant, than they had imbibed from the lessons of their ecclesiastical counsellors.

Besides the great confession of the Lutheran churches, two expositions of faith were presented at the Diet by others claiming with equal justice the appellation of Reformers. One was sent by Zwingle; and though Melancthon affected to consider it as the mere act of an individual, it no doubt embodied the opinions of his evangelical compatriots. "Of this man you will say neither more nor less than that he is not in his senses. On original sin and the use of the Sacraments, he has returned to his old errors. On ceremonies he speaks very barbarously; he would sweep them all away at a single blow. He will admit no bishop; and he dwells on his favourite notion of the Sacrament. . . ."* Thus

* The following are Zwingle's expressions on this subject in his "Fidei Ratio ad Carolum Imp., July 3, 1530:"—"Octavo de Eucharistia: Credo quod in Eucharistiæ, i. e. Gratiarum actionis, cœna, verum Christi corpus adsit, fidei contemplatione; hoc est, quod ii qui gratias agunt Domino, pro beneficio nobis in filio suo collato, agnoscunt illum veram carnem assumpsisse, vere in illa passum esse, vere nostra peccata sanguine suo abluisse, et sic omnem rem per Christum gestam illis fidei contemplatione quasi præsentem fieri. Sed quod Christi corpus per essentiam et realiter, hoc est corpus ipsum naturale, in cœna aut adsit,

Melancthon wrote to Luther. To Bucer he addressed at the same time the following remarks: "Zwingle has sent hither a confession; in which he certainly wishes to appear to agree with us in doctrine; but goes out of his way to bluster on certain other articles, that he may irritate the Emperor still further against us all.* It appears to be a Helvetian rather than a Christian spirit, which has impelled this man to send hither a confession so fiercely expressed, so unseasonably. . . ." It was a singular position in which Melancthon had then placed himself. The disciple, the son, almost the worshipper of the author of the Babylonish Captivity, he took a peevish offence at Zwingle for a far more moderate condemnation of the same tyranny. But it was his present fancy to conciliate "Antichrist;" and he trembled lest his little projects should be dissipated by the honest and consistent boldness of the champion of Switzerland, and he repudiated him accordingly.

The enlightened theologians of Strasburg, Bucer, Hedio, Capito, and the senator James Sturm, were never wearied with preaching to the Lutherans the necessity of union. Bucer even journeyed to Coburg to confer with Luther on the subject, and received an answer not

aut ore dentibusque nostris mandatur, quemadmodum papistæ et quidam qui ad ollas Ægyptiacas respectant, perhibent, id vero non tantum negamus, sed errorem esse, qui verbo Dei adversatur, constanter adseveramus. . . ." This is a specimen of what Melancthon called "ferocity." Zwingle wrote besides "An Epistle to the Most Illustrious Princes of Germany, assembled in Diet at Augsburg," on Aug. 27 following; in which he treated the Sacraments generally, and still further explained his doctrine on the Eucharist.

* "Zinglius huc misit confessionem; in qua certe non vult videri discrepare a nostra sententia; et præter rem tumultuatur in aliis quibusdam articulis, ut magis etiam iritet adversus nos omnes τὸν Αὐτοκρατορα. Videtur in homine magis Helveticus quidam quam Christianus spiritus, qui impulerit eum tam ferociter scriptam confessionem minime in tempore huc mittere."

entirely unfavourable. The zeal of the Landgrave on this subject was sufficiently known. The wisdom of the proposition could scarcely be disputed: yet Melancthon resisted it with unyielding obstinacy. The more flexible he was in his condescensions to the Legate, the more rudely did he repel the Sacramentaries. The more humbly he bent before the powerful foe, the more insolently did he reject the unpopular ally. The more he taxed his ingenuity to disguise and dissemble numerous and manifest breaches on the one side, the more did he strive to widen one not very perceptible rent on the other. As if to make amends for timidity by bigotry, he visited upon his brother-reformers the wrath which he feared to vent against the dominant establishment, and thought to conciliate an implacable enemy by the sacrifice of an importunate friend.

At length the chiefs of the insulted party, perceiving that their attempts were hopeless, drew up their own confession, and presented it to the Diet. It differed in no respect from that of Melancthon, except in the tenth article, on the doctrine of the real presence. It was signed by the deputies of the four imperial cities, Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau. From this circumstance it is commonly known in history as the Tetrapolitan Confession. Those overtures from the more detested section of the Reformers, disclaimed as they were by their own natural allies, could expect no sort of favour from the Catholics. Their creed, indeed, was honoured by an insolent refutation from Faber and Eck;* but their persons, as we have seen, were condemned

* This refutation was again refuted by Bucer and Hedio; who in their anxiety, again, to conciliate Luther, employed expressions so equivocal about the Eucharist, as to be susceptible either of a Swiss or Saxon interpretation—*magno ecclesiarum earum, imprimis Argentinensis, malo. Scultet. Annal. Evang. Renov. A.D. 1530.*

without mercy; and when the Lutherans signified their assent to that article in the decree, had they done nothing to deserve the condemnation, which descended so soon afterwards and from the same hand upon themselves?

The pontifical ministers at Augsburg, the flower of the diplomacy of the Vatican, guided by the subtile and experienced genius of Campeggio, were astonished to perceive the inefficacy of their talents. Day after day their designs were penetrated and their artifices eluded by men of no pretension to political skill, by Germans, natives of obscure provinces, subjects of petty princes, unpractised in the arts of courts, uninstructed even in the rudiments of intrigue. It was in vain that they taxed their ingenuity for some fresh expedient to succeed those which had failed—it was defeated by the same considerate discretion and suspicious sagacity. And it was this that surprised them. For in the vanity of their cunning they despised that which was less artful than themselves, and mistook the absence of duplicity for dulness or ignorance. Besides, they had not taken as elements into their calculations the sincerity and integrity of their adversaries; they had not counted on the force of religious conviction, and the inflexibility of an earnest conscience. They reasoned not only from the perversion of their own talents, but from the dishonesty of their own characters; and thus they were filled with wonder, when they saw their snares perpetually avoided, and all the resources of their craft exhausted in vain. And the more so, indeed, on this occasion, since so many opportunities had been presented to their talents by the long duration of the private negotiations. For it was in that field that their arts were the most formidable—as even the history of these few years has proved: it was thus that Miltitz seduced the spirit of Luther to his weakest concession. It was thus that Pope Clement at

Bologna prevailed upon the Emperor to abandon his immediate demand of a council; and it was even thus that during this very Diet Melancthon was partly cajoled and partly frightened into a disposition not far removed from subservience. Yet with all these advantages, and the countenance of the Emperor openly shining upon them, these practised politicians, though they obtained some partial advantages, were unable to betray their opponents into any important indiscretion, or any lasting weakness; and the long narrative of their multifarious operations exhibits only a series of manœuvres conducted with persevering address and baffled with considerate constancy.

In examining the proceedings of this Diet we observe that the wish for a general council was expressed almost universally; and that even those, who seemed least to desire it, made their appeals to its future decisions whenever they found it expedient to do so. Almost all the particular schemes for reconciliation, from whichever party they proceeded, contained that provision; and the official edicts of the Diet solemnly engaged that the expectation should no longer be deceived. But though it might suit the immediate purposes of all to raise that clamour, or at least not to oppose it when raised by others, yet we must not imagine that all were sincere in this matter, or even that those who were sincere attached exactly the same ideas to their demand. In the first place, the Pope and his immediate adherents entertained the most decided repugnance to the proposal. This was manifested at Bologna. And besides the general arguments, there so plausibly and for the time so successfully urged, there was another of a private nature, and not for that reason the less cogent, which Clement was careful to dissemble. He was illegitimate, and therefore not eligible to the Popedom. It could be proved besides,

that he had procured his elevation by acts of corruption. The councils of Constance and Basle had set precedents of ecclesiastical disloyalty, which would not be lost on the less servile spirits of a more enlightened age, and the misfortunes of John XXIII. might be repeated in his own person—there was nothing in this at all improbable; and the apprehension was sufficient to fix his secret resolution, however he might amuse the Emperor by conditional promises, not at least to create the instrument of his own destruction.

Charles, on the other hand, was really desirous of the council. He had nothing to fear from it in respect to his own authority, or credit—Sigismund had even gained in reputation, if not in power, by the transactions at Constance—and there was no nobler field for the display of political talent, or, should that prove a part of policy, of imperial virtue. He hoped, besides, that it would reconcile, without the sword, the religious dissensions of his empire; at least, he perceived it would take away the last and strongest pretext for the contumacy of the Reformers. And he probably intended that it should relieve the people of Germany from the fiscal contributions, exacted under so many pretences by the rapacity of the court of Rome. In this last expectation the German princes of all parties most sincerely united. Even the Catholics had not forgotten, in their present zeal for the papal ascendancy, the Hundred Grievances of Nuremberg, and they looked with eagerness for what they deemed, perhaps, the only constitutional means of emancipation. Moreover, there were few or none among them who were not, in a certain sense, Church-Reformers. They were disgusted by the manifold impurities and indecencies of the Church, and they were desirous so to remove or mitigate those scandals, as to restore the sacred edifice to its ancient beauty and strength.

Even among the Reformers there was a section very willing to adopt this last view, and Melancthon may, at that moment, have belonged to it. But the very great majority, following the more decided course of Luther and Zwingle, did not really look for any reconciliation with the church of Rome; and therefore it was to them a matter of comparative indifference, whether the council assembled or not. It is true, they made their appeals to it perpetually, and were the loudest in their clamours for its convocation; because thus they gave a show of equity to their provisional claims—a show of subordination and loyalty to all their proceedings. Besides, they gained time, which was essential to their success.

As long as the council was not called, they reaped positive advantage from the suspense and delay, besides the moral benefit derived from the reasonableness of their demand. And if at length it should be assembled, which Luther did not expect, they doubted not that they should find either some cause to question its impartiality, and so disclaim its authority; or some means, if it were really a fair tribunal, to influence its decisions. But the council to which they would have submitted was not such as the Pope was likely to grant. They required that its deliberations should be free; and that it should meet in Germany—two stipulations to which Clement, as he valued his crown, was certain never to assent. Such seem to have been the feelings of all parties in respect to this important question, when Charles obliged himself by the solemn act of the Recess to employ his utmost exertions to procure the consummation demanded by the mass of his subjects, and promising, as he may have thought, to restore the peace of his empire.

It has been observed, that at the close of the discussions at Augsburg the Catholics advanced a subject of remonstrance, of which we find no mention at preceding

conferences, but which they pressed, nevertheless, with even more warmth than any other—the confiscation of certain monastic revenues by the Protestant princes. The earlier controversies regarded the sanctity of monastic vows, and the merit or demerit of monastic observances; but the question at last degenerated into a question of property. Henry Duke of Brunswick, who had an interview with the electoral prince of Saxony on this matter, was not unfavourable to the principles of the Reformation. So far at least he was removed from extreme opposition to them, as to maintain that the breach of certain ecclesiastical institutions did not justify an appeal to arms. About the communion in one kind, the marriage of the clergy, or the abolition of masses, he would never have waged war against any one. But the restitution of the property of the monks he held to be a matter purely secular, and maintained that the Emperor had a perfect right to demand it, and to call upon the princes of the empire to support his demand. There was some justice in this distinction, and it may have been perceived by many of the moderate Catholics. It was no sufficient answer to say, that the monks ejected were not personally the proprietors of the goods, or that these were more profitably applied to pious and charitable purposes. So long as the church remained, they were the property of the church, and they could only cease to be so by its total dissolution. It was inconsistent in the Protestant princes to acknowledge its authority, and to seek a reunion with it, so long as they presumed to dispose in any way of any part of its possessions. They ought either to have rejected it altogether as one great usurpation, or to have refrained, during the suspense, from making any permanent application of its revenues. Therefore it was not an unfair proposal to place them in

sequestration, under the imperial safeguard, until the conclusive decision of the council.

Respecting the spirit, in which Melancthon performed his difficult office at the Diet, I have freely made such remarks as his acts and proposals suggested, not imputing to him any dishonesty of purpose, but only that moral infirmity which is so commonly conjoined with literary acquirements, but which may be as dangerous in the conduct of a great cause as positive perfidy. In his celebrated letter to Campeggio he painted his own character for the information of all posterity. Yet this was at the outset of the business, before the real views of the papists were betrayed. It might be, that he would read in their succeeding measures some lessons of distrust in them, of confidence in the holiness of his own cause; it might be, that he would repent of his humiliation and revoke, on better instruction, the proposals which he had tendered with too much simplicity. But so far was he from this disposition, that after the discussions were closed, a few days only before the publication of the edict, he addressed to the same personage a second letter in the same tone and with the same object as the first.

After again declaring that the doctrine of the Reformers was in perfect agreement with that of Rome, and that there was no obstacle to reunion, except the ignorance or malevolence of certain doctors, he proceeded: "It is very true that we have changed some observances, and displayed much wrath against the Church of Rome. But considering the relaxation of the monastic discipline, the defects in the monastic institutions, and the degenerate morals of the priesthood, some excuse may be made for those who have censured this corruption. Every establishment is subject to disturbances when its discipline is relaxed, and it is easier

to appease such troubles by clemency than by rigour. And in this conviction I intreat you, in the name of God, not to augment these dissensions by measures of severity. If an appeal be made to arms, you will immediately see religion involved in dreadful confusion, and new doctrines and new heresies starting up in every quarter; for such are precisely the occasions which turn to the profit of the wicked. These fears of mine are not unfounded, and I have communicated my reasons for them to persons of merit.

“It is easy for you to prevent this. Concede to us only a few points, or, if you will not concede, connive, and peace may be restored. Permit the communion in both kinds, and tolerate the marriage of priests and monks. If it be not expedient to yield these openly, some pretext may be found for dissembling, so that the thing may drag on until a council shall be assembled. Concerning mass, some device may be discovered by good and learned men, so that that may be no longer a cause of dissension.* We on our parts will agree to restore obedience and jurisdiction to the bishops. So that should some slight want of uniformity still remain in those matters, nevertheless, as the churches would be subject to the same bishops, there would be no appearance of discord, especially since their agreement on the doctrines and articles of faith would be complete. And thus the bishops, having the clergy once more under

* “*Paucis rebus vel condonatis vel dissimulatis posset restitui concordia, viz. si nostris utraque species permetteretur, si conjugia sacerdotum et monachorum tolerarentur. Hæc si aperte concedi non videretur utile, tamen prætextu aliquo dissimulari possent, viz. quod res extraheretur donec synodus cogatur. De Missa etiam iniri ratio posset a bonis et doctis viris, nequid dissidii pareret amplius. Nostris vicissim conveniet reddere episcopis obedientiam et jurisdictionem. . . .*”—*Apud Cœlestin., tom. iii. fol. 137.*

their control, would by the exercise of their authority gradually get rid of all inconveniences, provided only they would consent to restore the ecclesiastical discipline so long neglected. Surely it would be a work of virtue, agreeable to God and worthy of distinguished men, to heal these disorders by reason, rather than to excite fearful tumults, which even those of most influence may not afterwards find it easy to repress."

In this singular document we find Melancthon pleading, as if he were at heart the friend and ally of the papal establishment; and we cannot forbear to observe, as was unsparingly observed by his contemporaries,* that, had he deliberately designed an act of treachery, had he calmly purposed to deliver up the sacred cause, then especially committed to his charge, to the mercy of the enemy, and that too in the manner most certain to terminate in its destruction, he would have suggested exactly that policy, precisely those expedients, which are

* "Non credis quanto in odio sim (said Melancthon, Epist. 20) Noricus et nescio quibus aliis propter restitutam Episcopis jurisdictionem: Ita de suo regno, non de Evangelio dimicant socii nostri. Amicus quidam scripsit me si quanta voluissem maxima pecunia a Romano Pontifice conductus essem, non potuisse meliorem rationem suscipere restituendæ dominationis pontificiæ, quam hanc esse judicent homines, quam instituimus. Ego nullum adhuc articulum deserui aut abjeci, qui ad doctrinam pertineat: tantum stomachabantur de politicis rebus, quod non est nostrum eripere Episcopis." The reason he gave for this indignation against him in another letter (Epist. 171) was this: "Vulgus assuefactum libertati et semel excusso jugo Episcoporum ægre patitur rursum sibi imponi illa vetera onera; et maxime oderunt istam dominationem civitates imperii. De doctrina religionis nihil laborant; tantum de regno et libertate sunt solliciti." Camerarius wrote to Agricola Islebius, who was at Augsburg, to inquire what truth there was in the reports generally circulated, not among the vulgar only, but among their teachers, concerning the weakness of Melancthon. The latter in reply referred to a letter written by him in the third person to Ebner, in which he justified his ἐπιείκεια.—Cœlest., tom. iii. fol. 65. Camerarius was the intimate friend of Melancthon.

contained in this letter; that is, he would have removed or dissembled those striking points of difference by which the feelings of the people were principally roused, and then would have again consigned them to the instructions of such ministers as the bishops might choose to approve; at the same time restoring to those bishops, who were themselves the creatures and instruments of Rome and adhered almost in a body to the cause of Rome, the plenitude of their ecclesiastical authority. For it was in vain that he might affect to impose some nominal restraints on that authority, or to retain for the moment some ceremonial distinctions. These, as he himself foresaw, would have presently melted away under the influence of episcopal supremacy. And, the great principles of the Reformation once abandoned, the congregations of the Reformers would have gradually returned, after no very long resistance, and with some very slight modifications, to the faith and practice of their forefathers.

Yet he meditated no treachery. He only trembled at the menaces of violence, and to avoid the perils of a passing tempest he would have run his bark among the far more fatal shoals of dissimulation and compromise.

His reluctance to commit these matters to the arbitration of the sword was heightened by the fury which he beheld in the papal party; by the little mercy to be expected from the authors of so many crusades and the destroyers of so many heresies; by the scruples which he still entertained as to the lawfulness of repelling force by force; and, even could these be removed, by the comparative weakness of his own party—thus he had no other prospect in his imagination than the cause of truth overthrown and drowned in the blood of its defenders. He deemed, besides, that the rage of the Catholics proceeded in a great measure from the loss of

their authority; that, whatever clamour they might choose to raise respecting doctrines and observances, the blow which they most sensibly felt was the deprivation of power; and he willingly hoped that, if this should only be restored to them, they would employ it with so much discretion as to leave all the other disputed points in possession of the Protestants. But chiefly he feared the consequences which would ensue from the dissolution of the ecclesiastical polity. When the hand should be withdrawn, which held together by a single chain and as a single body the numerous and various establishments of the Christian world, he foresaw no other result than confusion and anarchy. He trembled lest that universal church, which was in theory indeed the beautiful representation of religious concord, should in after times be broken up into a multitude of independent and incongruous institutions, modelled according to the pleasure of the secular magistrates, and subjected to their capricious supremacy.

He feared too, lest, in the laxity prevailing through this independence, new and wild opinions should spring up with unrestrained fertility, disfiguring the face and corrupting the heart of the Catholic church of Christ. From the shadows of these calamities, which to his anxious and foreboding mind appeared larger and darker than they have really proved, Melancthon would have fled for safety even into the embraces of the papal despotism, fondly fancying that he might induce it, by wise reasonings and soft persuasions, to relax its grasp and mitigate its sway; and that then, while it was at the very height and fulness of all its corruptions, while its pride was bloated by perpetual success, while nothing was farther from the thoughts of its hierarchs than any serious purpose of self-amendment; and while it abounded more than at any former time with open, con-

temptuous profligacy, rapacity, arrogance, and unprincipled tyranny—that then it was to be purified in a moment by the admixture of Lutheranism, or at least to receive its repentant rebels with a holy embrace, and unite with them in the common profession of evangelical principles.

Whatever surprise, however, may be felt, that such a view of the prospects of the Reformation should have been taken by the disciple and associate of Luther, there is none in perceiving that the same, or nearly the same, were the notions of Erasmus. He was not present at the Diet. The Emperor, indeed, expressed a wish that he should assist in the intended work of reconciliation, for which his moderate opinions, as well as his ancient intimacy with Melancthon, singularly qualified him. But he was too cautious to involve his credit in negotiations, of which he probably foresaw the futility, or to commit his person among the numerous enemies, whom he had contrived to create in both parties. Accordingly he pleaded sickness and remained at Friburg. But he wrote from that place a long letter to Campeggio (on August 18),* containing

* August 20, according to Cœlestine. The letter contains sixteen reasons why the Emperor should not make war with the Protestants, but, on the contrary, tolerate them. The Emperor listened to the former, but not to the latter counsel. In the following extract from another epistle, also written to Campeggio during the Diet and cited by Seckendorf (l. ii. s. 34, § 76), Erasmus complains with some cause of the ingratitude of his papal friends:—

“*Scripsi diatriben: exortus est Stunica, cum suis conclusionibus. . . . Scripsi Hyperaspisten: exortus est Bedda cum suis virulentis calumniis; Scripsi contra Vulturium et Bucerum: exortus est Albertus Pius*”—all three good churchmen and bitter assailants of Erasmus. It was natural; for Erasmus, though a decided Anti-Lutheran, always used his influence, with Popes, Princes, and Legates, to dissuade them from violence and vengeance. His expectations as to the result of the Diet in either contingency are well expressed in a letter, of September 6, to one

his opinions and advice, and wisely and strongly recommending measures of toleration.

He observed: That the power of the Emperor, though great, was not universally acknowledged, and that the Germans were rather his masters than his subjects; that the doctrines of Luther were disseminated far and wide through Germany, and that that "chain of evils" extended from the ocean to the very borders of Switzerland; that if the Emperor were to abandon himself wholly to the counsels of the Pope, he would find few to applaud or support him; that the real danger was from the Turks, and the real object to unite the whole of Christendom against them; that the meditated war against the Protestants might very well recoil against the Emperor himself; that the love of sects was indeed reprehensible enough, but that in this case there was another question—the safety of the commonwealth; that the church was in danger in olden times, when the Arians, Pagans, Donatists, Manichæans were scattering abroad their doctrines, yet that it emerged from all those calamities, as the severest diseases sometimes receive their best remedies from time; that the Bohemians were tolerated, though they rejected the Roman pontiff; and that in his opinion it would be the wisest expedient to extend that toleration to the Lutherans, for, great as this evil would be, it would still be not so great as war.

Yet were there some among the Reformers who thought that even peace might be purchased at too dear a price. The progress of the negotiations was watched by the multitudes, whose temporal and spiritual happiness was involved in them, and who did not suppress the jealous anxiety occasioned by the course they appeared

Quinonius: "Si quid Sectis concedet Cæsar, clamabunt se victores; nec video qui laturo sint illorum insolentiam. Sin vicerit altera pars, quis feret monachorum tyrannidem?"

to be taking. The first who remonstrated were the divines and magistrates of the Lutheran city of Nuremberg. They boldly declared against the restoration of the monasteries, of the confession, of fasts, and, above all, of the jurisdiction of the bishops: "since they were persuaded that the bishops would infallibly abuse it, and that they would never want pretexts to refuse ordination to the pastors of the Protestants and to destroy them; that peace on those conditions would be pernicious; that the princes had been deluded by ambiguous articles, of which the only effect would be to disseminate dissensions; and that war, terrible an evil as it was, was yet less to be dreaded than a violation of conscience." They concluded by entreating the Elector and the Landgrave to revoke those concessions as the work of individuals who had exceeded their commission, and as only conditionally binding on their authors.* From the resolute spirit which was displayed in this seasonable remonstrance, and which doubtless was shared by many in all the reformed states and cities, it is clear that, even had Melancthon brought his conciliations to the end he desired, had he obtained a political peace on the conditions that he so eagerly offered, his treaty would have been rejected by a large proportion even of the Lutheran adherents of the Reformation. Neither his own persuasions nor the Elector's authority would have enabled him to impose it

* Melancthon, writing to Vitus Theodorus, who was a teacher of the Gospel at Nuremberg, said, on September 10, "Tui cives valde reprehendunt nostram *ἐπιείκειαν*, æquitatem. Sed his ut spero, si modo continget pax, facile satisfaciemus." And again, about the same time, "Tui cives mirifice criminantur me propter restitutam episcopis jurisdictionem. Interim dissimulant quid doleat ipsis . . . et cavillantur in nostris actionibus quædam alia de sanctis." There is a singular declaration made by him in the former of these letters, that the principal obstacle to "the peace" was the intractability of his own party—"Ac fortasse pacem facere possemus, si nostri essent paullo tractabiliores."

upon the people. Such a termination of the matter would, then, only have occasioned fresh breaches among the Reformers, without at all closing the original schism. But God's good Providence ordered it otherwise; and according to a not uncommon method of dealing with His creatures, He counteracted evil by evil, and remedied the infirmity of the one party by the perverse pertinacity of the other.

While Melancthon was thus trying all the expedients of a mere human policy, while he was thus regarding externals and calculating with a minute penetration the ecclesiastical interests of his posterity, the letters of Luther, written from his desolate seclusion (*Ex Eremitio*) breathed for the most part the spirit of another world. A constant determination pervaded them, that not a shred of the Gospel shall be conceded. He took his stand on the truths of the Christian doctrine and the confidence of Divine protection. And with a heart thus fortified and unshrinking, he descended not to the speculations of earthly cunning; but, convinced that the work was the work of God, and resolved that it should suffer no stain or corruption from mortal hands, he consigned it at once to the care of its eternal Author. "In my opinion," he wrote to Melancthon, "too much has been already conceded in the Confession. If they will not accept that, I know not what more I can possibly yield to them. May the Lord Jesus sustain you, that your faith may not fail, but grow and triumph! Amen. I pray for you; I have prayed, and will continue to pray. I have not any question that I am heard, since I feel the *Amen* in my heart. Should that, which we wish, not happen, then will something else happen, which is better." He wrote to Justus Jonas to the same effect: "I am resolved to yield nothing to our adversaries. They are laughing

at us; and, being at once the most insolent and the most wicked of mankind, they insult us in the pride of their superior power. I conjure you, break off all negotiation with them. Let them act, and return to your homes. They have the Confession. They have the Gospel. Let them receive them if they will. If not, let them depart on their business. Let war follow or not. It matters nothing. We have offered peace, and that is sufficient."

Respecting the more delicate subject of the restoration of episcopal jurisdiction, which, as it involved no point of doctrine, could not be considered as unscriptural, he addressed to Melancthon the following just warnings: "As to the jurisdiction of the bishops, I am fully convinced that in granting it, you stipulate for the purity of the Gospel and the liberty of announcing it; but I fear that in your endeavours to avoid one war you are engaging in another more dangerous. If you submit to the authority of the bishops, they will accuse us of inconstancy and revolt, from the moment that we shall refuse them entire obedience. They will extend indefinitely all that you shall accord to them, and they will curtail, so as to render wholly useless, all that you shall obtain from them."

Nevertheless, as this was a question which directly related only to externals—a matter of human policy and calculation, not of inward spiritual conviction, Luther did not absolutely insist upon his opinion. Though his objections to the concession were incomparably more sound and stable than the hope on which it was founded, yet he waived them and consented. Doubtless it was a reluctant consent, as it was unquestionably opposed to his better judgment; yet such being the great remedy proposed by his friends for the removal of all differences,

he at least permitted, if he did not approve, the experiment, especially as he did not really believe that any definite agreement would after all result from it.*

At the same time it must be mentioned that he never consented to restore the authority of the Pope. On that head he remained inflexible. So that it was probably his design (if he had any fixed design) to re-establish the episcopal government in the several churches which had embraced the Reformation, as subordinate in each instance to the civil, and to construct so many national establishments under that polity. At least it is not at all true, as some have argued, that the restoration of the bishops of necessity implied that of the Pope, though Melancthon probably, and the Catholics avowedly, understood it with that implication.

There was no more ardent quality in the character of Luther than his intense devotion in prayer and his assiduity in the performance of that duty. We perceive this spirit so pervading his letters, that there are few in which

* On September 20, he thus wrote to Wenceslaus Link. "Though Philip may possibly (*Philippus etsi forte*) have treated about certain conditions, yet thus far no agreement is come to in respect to any of them, not even on his own part (*ne ipsius quidem consensu*). But I hope that Christ has put on that mask, that he may illude our illuders, and excite them to a joyful but treacherous hope and dream, that we are going to yield, and they to be the masters—when they may presently discover that nothing is less likely, and that they have been themselves the persons mocked. This, at least, is my interpretation of the matter, as I feel quite secure that their consent is altogether vain without mine." (No. 1305.) He wrote another strong letter to Justus Jonas on the same day, against all concession, and one to Nic. Hausman three days later. The jurisdiction of the bishops was much discussed in these; and it was assumed of course that its restoration was to be conditional, on their permitting the preaching of the Gospel and removing all abuses. But how vague a condition was this! Who were to be the judges of the abuses? the Reformers or the Bishops? With them the greatest abuse was the suppression of their own authority.

he does not either offer up some sort of supplications himself, or entreat those of others in behalf of himself or his cause. There are likewise many occasions on which he expresses in the strongest terms his confidence in the efficacy of his prayers. More than once he solemnly menaces an obdurate foe, that he will overthrow him by the force of his appeals to God against him. This essential effect and evidence of his faith is mentioned by Melancthon and other contemporaries. But the most striking illustration of their assertions is furnished by a letter addressed to Melancthon, during the period just described by Vitus Theodorus. This divine was Luther's associate at Coburg, and thus described his religious habits :

“ Not a day passes but he spends three hours, and the very hours most suited to study, in prayer. It once happened to me to hear him at prayer. Blessed God, what spirit, what faith there is in his very words ! He offers his petitions with all the reverence that is due to God, yet with such hope and faith as if he felt that he were conversing with a father and a friend. ‘ I know,’ he said, ‘ that Thou art our Father and our God ; I am, therefore, well assured, that thou wilt destroy the persecutors of thy children. But if Thou shalt not do this, the peril is thine as well as ours. This whole affair is thine. We engaged in it only by compulsion. Thou, therefore, wilt defend it.’ When I heard him from some distance praying with a clear voice almost in these words, my own soul was likewise inflamed with a peculiar emotion,—with such friendly familiarity, with such seriousness, with such reverence, did he converse with God. And amidst his prayers he vehemently pressed the promises from the Psalms, as if he were sure that all his petitions would be brought to pass. Neither can I then

doubt that his prayers will have great weight in restoring our almost desperate condition at the Diet.”*

Besides his various correspondence at Coburg, with princes as well as theologians, on subjects of the greatest moment to Christendom, and which were so frequently altering their aspect as to give occasion for continual consideration and anxiety, he found space for other occupations. He pursued his translation of the Prophetic Writings of the Old Testament; he composed explanations of the Psalms; and with a view to the moral instruction of the next generation, he translated *Æsop's Fables*. Among profane writings there was none which he loved better than this; for there was a philosophical playfulness which particularly distinguished his private and social character, and which might even be suspected from some passages in his most serious works—a gaiety of mind, which was seldom unaccompanied by some moral meaning, and proceeded from the warmth of his imagination. For this, as has already been observed, was one of the strongest of his intellectual organs; and if it betrayed him into occasional extravagances, from which his strong counteracting judgment was not always able to preserve him, it endowed him likewise with a power of invention and illustration, which sometimes gave irresistible force to his arguments.

Of that fanciful vivacity which was peculiar to him, and which threw not unfrequent gleams over the harshness and peremptoriness of his public character, I shall here transcribe two very beautiful specimens, both composed in this his solitude of Coburg.

The following letter he addressed to his son John: “Grace and peace in Christ to my dear little son! I am glad to find that you learn your lessons well, and

* Apud Melchior Adam. Vit. Germanorum Theolog. Vita Lutheri.

that you are diligent in saying your prayers. Go on in this way, my dear boy, and when I come home I will bring you a nice present from the fair.

“I know of a certain delightful garden; in it there are a great many children who wear little golden coats, and pick up under the trees the beautiful apples and pears, cherries and different sorts of plums; they sing, dance, and enjoy themselves, and they have pretty little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles. I asked the owner of the garden whose children these were? He answered, ‘They are children who love to pray and to study, and are good.’ Then said I, ‘Dear Sir, I have a son named Johnny Luther; may he not come into this garden, that he may eat these fine apples and pears, ride on these nice horses, and play with these children?’ And the man answered, ‘If he loves to say his prayers, if he is fond of his book and is good, then he may come into the garden, and your other children also; and if they all come together they shall have fifes, trumpets, lutes, and all sorts of stringed instruments, and they shall dance and shoot with little bows and arrows.’

“And then he showed me a fine lawn, in the midst of the garden, ready for a dance; and there were hanging on the trees golden fifes, trumpets, and silver bows. But it was very early, and the children had not finished their breakfast, therefore I could not wait for the dance; but I said to the man, ‘Dear Sir, I will go immediately and write about all these things to my little son John, that he may attend to his prayers, and learn his book well and be good, and so may come to this garden; but he has a nurse that he must bring with him.’ Then said the man, ‘It shall be as you say; go and write to your son.’

“Therefore, dear little Johnny, study and pray with a good heart, and tell your little brothers to do the

same, and so you will all come together to the garden. And now I commend you to Almighty God. Greet your nurse and give her a kiss for me.

“Your affectionate father,

“MARTIN LUTHER.”

The other was addressed to his friends at Augsburg:
“Grace and peace in Christ.

“Dear gentlemen and friends,

“I have received all your letters, and understand by them how things are going on with you. That you may know in return how things fare with us, I have thought best to inform you that we, namely, myself, Vitus, and Cyriacus, are not gone to the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, but that we are come, however, to another diet.

“There is a thicket just before our window, in which the crows and rooks have assembled a diet; and there is such a journeying to and fro, and such an incessant screaming day and night, as if they were all drunk; they caw all together, young and old, till I wonder how their voice and breath can hold out so long. And I would gladly know if such noblemen and knights-errant are to be found likewise with you; for it appears to me that they must have gathered together here from all parts of the world.

“I have not yet seen their emperor; but their noble and great personages are continually hovering and flying about before our eyes, not very splendidly attired, but simply, in uniform, all equally black, and all with the same grey eyes; they all sing the same song, yet with a pleasant difference between young and old, great and small. They care not for large halls and palaces; for their hall is roofed by the beautiful wide-spreading sky, its floor is the simple turf, its tables are pretty green branches, and its walls are as wide as the world's end.

Neither do they ask for horses and harness; they have winged wheels, with which they escape from the guns and retire to a place of safety.

“They are great and powerful lords, but I do not yet know their decrees. Thus much, however, I have learnt from an interpreter—that they are projecting a vigorous attack upon the wheat, barley, oats, rye, and all sorts of corn and grain, and that there are many knights among them who are to perform great feats.

“Thus you see we sit here in the midst of the diet, witnessing with great delight and affection the cheerful singing and merry lives of the princes, nobles, and chief men of the kingdom. But we have particular pleasure in watching them sharpen their bills and put on their armour, that they may be victorious and acquire honour in their contests with corn and malt. We wish them safety and success, and trust that they will be impaled altogether on some sharp-pointed hedge.

“I think, however, that the crowd before me can be nothing but sophists and papists, with their preachers and scribes, who have come that I may hear their harmonious voices and preaching, and may see what very useful people they are to destroy everything upon earth, and then yawn for something to do.

“To-day we have heard the first nightingale; for they have not been willing to trust themselves to April. It is now very fine weather with us; it has not rained at all except a little yesterday. Perhaps it will be otherwise with you. I now say farewell, and commend you to the good providence of God.

“From the Diet of Grain-peckers, 28th of April, 1530.”*

* “An seine Tischgesellen. . . . Aus dem Reichstag der Malztürken.” He was fond of the subject. On April 22 he wrote to J. Jonas: “Ex volucrium, præsertim monedularum regno. . . . Sedemus tandem hic

In a letter to Spalatin, written a few days afterwards in the same tone, he condescended to play upon the word monedula, or rook: "Yet, if these birds could find a fair interpreter, they would take great glory and pride from their very name monedula, which means, no doubt, man-edel, or by inversion edel-man; except that this might indeed cast some little slur on your comitia, where your edelmen practise in somewhat too great perfection the monedular virtue. Yet our mondulins, in their diet, have one great advantage, that they have a much cheaper and more agreeable forum than yours will have at Augsburg.

"But enough of jesting. Yet is it in seriousness and by compulsion that I jest; that I may repel the reflections which rush in upon me, if indeed I may repel them. . . ."

inter nubila, vereque in volucrum regno. Nam ut cæteras aves taceam, quarum est tanta confusio cantuum, ut tempestatem superent, ipsæ monedulæ seu corvi recta e prospectu nostro nemus quoddam occupant totum. Ich meine da sey ein gekekte ab hora quarta mane toto die indefatigabiliter. . . . Ego interpretor eos esse totum exercitum Sophistarum et Cochlæitarum. . . ." His letter to Spalatin contains some of the same expressions with that to his Tischgesellen: "*Hic videas magnanimos Reges, Duces, Proceresque alios . . . indefatigabili voce decreta et dogmata sua per aerem jactantes. Denique non in aulicis istis speluncis et antris, quæ vos palatia dicitis, versantur sive clauduntur potius, verum sub divo, ut quibus ipsum cælum sit laquear et virentes arbores varium liberrimumque pavementum. Porro parietes idem qui et fines terræ, &c. . . .*"

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FROM THE DIET OF AUGSBURG TO THE TRUCE OF
RATISBON.

General expectation of civil war—election of Ferdinand to be king of the Romans—resisted by the Protestants—the league of Smalcald—on what grounds it was approved by Luther—his letter to Link—the articles of Smalcald—parties to the league—replies of the kings of England, Denmark, and France—further meetings of the confederacy—proposal to admit into it the Swiss Reformers—negotiations of Bucer—letters of Luther on this subject—Charles and the Pope deliberate about the council—the evasions of the latter—the progress of the Turks a new reason for union among the Germans—Charles treats with the Protestants—conference at Schweinfurt—resistance and claims of the Protestants—division among them respecting the admission of future members to the advantages of the pending treaty—opinions of Urbanus Rhegius, Luther and Melancthon—remarks of the Landgrave on the two last—the difference settled by mediation—the negotiations are resumed at Nuremberg—the treaty is signed there and ratified by the Emperor at Ratisbon—highly favourable to the Reformation.

At the dissolution of the Diet of Augsburg there was only one expectation throughout all Germany, that of a fierce and immediate civil war.* The Pope and his court, and all his Italian adherents, were thirsting for that consummation. There may have been some even among the German prelates who desired it. And had Charles been deliberately disposed to wash away the

* Luther wrote to Gerbellius (No. 1391) in June, 1531: "*Ego cum meis admiror Dei miracula et gratias ago, qui tam horrendas minas comitiorum in ludibrium vertit, et tanta pace fruamur contra omnium spem. Nam certissimi erant omnes hac æstate et vere jam elapso bellum atrocissimum fore in Germania.*"

heresy in the blood of his subjects, the crisis was not unfavourable; for the French on the one side were humbled and exhausted, and on the other the arms of Solyman had sustained a severe reverse. There was scarcely a moment in his whole reign in which he could have acted against a domestic enemy with greater effect, had he chosen to act instantly. But he had other projects in view: and his familiar communications with the Protestants during five months of constant negotiation had taught him that they were not the turbulent enthusiasts represented to him; that their religious opinions had no savour of fanaticism; that their civil and political principles had no tendency to social insubordination; that in numbers they were not contemptible; that in zeal and constancy they were truly powerful and formidable.

Meanwhile, they on their part, not dejected by the menacing proclamation of the Diet, and gathering fresh courage from the religious exhortations of Luther, resolved to prepare without any loss of time for the worst extremities. As early as the 22nd of December they assembled at Smalcald, a small city, then subject to the joint rule of the Landgrave of Hesse and the Prince of Hennenberg, and signed on the 31st* a provisional treaty for their mutual defence. Among other matters it was agreed to oppose a political project on which the Emperor was then bent. He was desirous that his brother Ferdinand should be elected king of the Romans: the choice would be honourable to his family, and it would secure during his own frequent absence a resident master of the empire in whom he could entirely trust. The Protestants objected to the choice; through experience

* At least the form of the convention bears that date. (Seck., l. iii. sect. 1, § i.) The signatures were officially attached to it on Jan. 4, 1531.

of the incessant hostility of Ferdinand they were unwilling to arm him with greater power; besides, they had invariably found their affairs to be then most prosperous when Charles was resident elsewhere and the executive government feebly and capriciously administered. Accordingly, when the Emperor summoned the electoral college to Cologne for this purpose, the Elector of Saxony absented himself from the meeting, and in his place deputed his son to represent to the princes, that the imperial project went to violate the articles of the Golden Bull and endanger the liberties of the empire. This was the first opportunity afforded to the Reformers to connect their name and their views—for it was not here their principles—with the principles of constitutional freedom, and it was wise in them to take advantage of it. But their protest was disregarded; and the other Electors proceeded (Jan. 5, 1531) to make the choice prescribed to them, which was authorised by one precedent,* with perfect unanimity. The ceremony of coronation was performed six days afterwards at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The chiefs of the Reformation did not make these political preparations without the counsel of their theologians. And this will seem strange when we recollect with what constancy these last had hitherto resisted any confederacy even for the defence of their cause, and how zealously and with what strong arguments the policy and piety of such forbearance had been supported by Luther. Yet Luther now assented to the principles of the confederacy, and justified them, at least indirectly,

* Frederick III. had procured the election of his son Maximilian to be king of the Romans seven years before his own death. Maximilian attempted the same at Augsburg in 1518 in favour of Charles; but he was thwarted, chiefly through the influence of the Elector of Saxony.

by his writings. He went farther. He published a general admonition to the German people,* in which he exculpated his party from having occasioned the expected hostilities, and exhorted the nation, should they be commanded to take up arms against the gospel, to refuse obedience. Enumerating some of the most offensive of the papal errors, he denounced as advocates of those errors all who should be found in the hostile camp. He enlarged on the spiritual victory achieved at Augsburg, on the light already diffused through the revival of the gospel, and the unholiness of any conspiracy to extinguish it.

So sudden an alteration in a principle of so much importance, by a person for the most part too pertinacious in adhering even to his less considerate positions, excited some surprise. Was it the change in circumstances which really wrought this change in his opinions? Unquestionably the danger appeared to be more pressing than at any former moment—the edicts were more menacing, and the Emperor was at hand to enforce them. If it were indeed consistent with the law of Christ to take arms at any crisis in vindication of His cause, the present might be thought to justify the act. But the drift of Luther's former reasonings had always

* "Warnung D. M. L. an seine lieben Teutschen." He mentions, as a proof that the people were on his side, that, during the reading of the Confession, all countenances were pleased and cheerful; during that of the Refutation, sad and downcast. He relates likewise an opinion expressed by Eck, that Charles had made a mistake; that he ought to have drawn the sword on his arrival at Augsburg, as the Pope expected, instead of arguing and negotiating; that matters would thus have been set at rest at once.—Seckend., l. iii. s. 2, § iii. Luther published about the same time a confutation of the Edict of Augsburg—"Auft das vermeint Keiserlich Edict, D. M. L. 1531"—addressed to the reason more than to the passions of his compatriots.

been, that no degree of religious peril or oppression authorised a forcible resistance to the Emperor,* and that the Lord would assuredly provide for the defence of His own work. In excuse for this seeming inconsistency it has been pretended that, after the partial edict of Augsburg, Charles appeared no longer as the head of the empire, but as the chief of a faction. But the reason more generally assigned is this—before the signature of the treaty of Smalcald the jurists were consulted, as well as the divines, respecting its legality; and when Luther would have advanced his ancient scruples, he was assured by the former, that there were certain cases in which the laws permitted resistance to the imperial authority. He confessed his ignorance of any such license;† but being now persuaded that this was so, and considering that the gospel did in no respect abolish or invalidate

* Seckendorf admits this, even while he excuses the inconsistency of Luther.—l. iii. s. 2, § iv. Still the question was warmly discussed. On the one side it was argued, that it was the duty of the magistrates to defend their subjects; that Moses, the Judges, David, the Maccabees, had formed leagues and fought battles; that not to resist the sins of others was to share in them; that the worship of God was of more weight than civil obedience; that notorious injuries and violence released men from allegiance; that the Emperor was a constitutional monarch; that the empire was an aristocracy rather than a despotism; that the tyranny of the Emperor in this case extended to the soul, and therefore was more pernicious than that of the Turk. On the other side it was pleaded, that civil authority was not to be resisted; that vengeance belonged unto God; that the Electors, though magistrates to their subjects, were subjects to the Emperor; that it was the duty of Christians to profess and to suffer; that refusal of obedience was one thing, resistance to authority another; that Moses and the others acted by a special commission from God; that to suffer was not to permit; that the hopes of Christians were to be placed in silence and resignation. Some of these reasons indicate a close connexion between the principles of religious and political independence. See Scultet., *Annal. Evangel. Renov.* ann. 1531.

† Sleidan, lib. viii. f. 122.

civil institutions, he fell at once into the conclusion, that whatever was agreeable to the latter could scarcely be repugnant to the ordinances of God.

His own explanation, as confidentially addressed to Link at the moment,* was this: "You lately inquired whether it were true that I had counselled resistance to the Emperor? I have given no such counsel. But since there were some who maintained that this was not a question for the determination of the divines, but of the jurists, and since the jurists authorised the resistance, I said on my own behalf, 'I advise as a theologian; but if the jurists can show that such is consistent with their laws, I would allow them to act according to their laws. Let them see to that: for if the Emperor has ordained in his own statutes that in this case he may be legally resisted, let him abide by the law which he has enacted; only let me neither advise nor decide concerning that law, but confine myself to my own theology.' " Then, after drawing some distinction as to the opposition which might be offered to a prince, as a prince or as a Christian, and expressing a holy trust in God, the writer concluded, that, if it should be decided to resist, on the grounds proposed by the lawyers, it was no affair of his. —"So let them do. I am free."

The articles of Smalcald, of December 1530, received the general assent of the great majority of those who had subscribed the Confession. They were to the following effect: That the Emperor should be required to cause

* On January 15, 1531. "*Si Cæsar hoc statuit in suis legibus, ut in hoc casu liceat sibi resisti, patiatur legem quam tulerit—modo ego non consulam aut judicem de ista ipsa lege, sed maneam in mea theologia So lass ich sie machen. Ego sum liber.*"

There is also a letter to Lazarus Spenzler, of Feb. 15, to the same effect; and another, "An einen Bürger zu Nürnberg," of the 18th of March following.

all actions, on matters relating to the Reformation, commenced by the fiscal advocate, to cease forthwith; that, if any unjust demand should be made upon any of the confederates, either by the Treasury or the Swabian League, or any other party, under pretence of religion, all the others should contribute counsel and assistance; that the allies should commission certain learned divines and jurists to compose an uniform order of ecclesiastical rites, in order to avoid the reproach, that every district and parish professed an independent worship; that the same should establish a form of discipline for the correction of public offences, as well as for the coercion of the Anabaptists; that an appeal from the decree of Augsburg should be composed; that an apology should be published, in Latin, German, and French, embracing and defending all the questions of religion and acts of the confederates, and communicated to various sovereigns, especially those of France, Denmark, and England; and to several cities, especially the maritime cities of the north of Germany; and that the Emperor should be exhorted to insist on the convocation of an impartial and evangelical council. It was subjoined in conclusion, that the above articles should be represented as the unanimous manifesto of the Protestant party.* There were present the Elector and the Landgrave; Ernest Duke of Brunswick; Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt; Gerhard and Albert Counts of Mansfeld; and the deputies from Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Magdeburg, Constance, Bremen, Reutlingen, Heilbrun, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Isne, Bibrach, Windesheim, and Wessenberg; and, though some of the deputies had not authority to add their signatures to the convention, there was no dispute on any of the terms contained

* Seckendorf, lib. iii. sec. 1, § 1.

in it. The Landgrave, who had just concluded a religious league for six years with the cantons of Zurich, Berne, and Basle, and the city of Strasburg, had invited the Swiss to send representatives to Smalcald. But he could not succeed in including them in the confederacy.

The King of England was at that moment so occupied by domestic intrigues, that he could take little interest in the ecclesiastical broils of Germany; and though he bore no good will either to the Emperor or to the Pope, yet, as the affair of the divorce was still pending, it was not politic to give decided offence to either. The King of Denmark replied, that he was earnestly attached to the cause of the Gospel, but that his exertions were counteracted and overruled by the bishops of his kingdom, whose family connexions and feudal authority gave them irresistible influence; that for this reason he was unable to engage in the confederacy as King of Denmark, though he consented to do so as lord of certain estates and provinces in the German empire. But Francis turned a readier ear to overtures which promised to throw dissension among the subjects of his great antagonist. He immediately promised his support—not indeed for the maintenance of religious error, but in defence of the privileges of the empire, violated by the election of Ferdinand. To give effect to that promise, he despatched the most accomplished of his diplomatists, William de Bellay, into Germany, instructed to irritate the civil insubordination of the Reformers, while he blamed their ecclesiastical contumacy; and to conclude with them a treaty, such as might neither give umbrage to the Pope, nor infringe in any way on the articles of Cambray. It was concluded at Eslingen. The only object professed in it was the protection of the Germanic body in all its actual rights against every usurpation;

and a hundred thousand crowns were deposited by Francis with the Duke of Bavaria, to be employed, should it become necessary, for that purpose and for that only.

On the 29th of March (1531) the confederates opened their second assembly at Smalcald. Some new members were added to their number. Regulations were made for the levying of supplies and soldiers to be ready in case of need ; for the choice of officers and commanders ; for the further extension of their league, and the protection by constitutional methods of those who might determine to join it. On this occasion they received the Emperor's commands to furnish their contingent without excuse or delay towards the Turkish war, by which Germany was then threatened. But they replied with reason, that before assistance was required peace should be granted them, and that it would not be wise in them to place their means of self-defence at the disposal of their persecutors : accordingly they required, that the hostile proceedings of the imperial Chamber* should be stopped. It was difficult for Charles at once to make this concession ; as it would have amounted to a virtual repeal of the Recess of Augsburg.

The Protestants adjourned their assembly to the 4th of June, at Francfort. They received in that interval a letter from Henry VIII., expressing the most friendly feelings towards themselves and their cause ; applauding their resolution to remove the abuses of the Church ; accepting their explanations as to the opinions calumniously imputed to them ; avowing his earnest desire for the immediate convocation of a council ; and promising

* This was the permanent executive council of the empire. It was instituted by Maximilian, and consisted of a president and sixteen judges. It possessed too a judicial character, deciding questions of civil right among the members of the Germanic body, and passing judgment in extreme resort.

his mediation with the Emperor in their behalf. These were flattering expressions, but they were nothing more. They did not compromise the writer to any act of support or sympathy; and they were accepted at no more than their real value by the sagacious men to whom they were addressed.

The meeting at Francfort was attended by deputies from Lubeck, Brunswick and Göttingen, in addition to most of those who were present on the first occasion. The allies firmly remonstrated against the unconstitutional election of Ferdinand; and showed, at the same time, their resolution to resist every attack on their religious liberties. To the former boldness they were undoubtedly encouraged by their treaty with Francis. Besides, there was much good policy in the combination of those two questions. Among the many who thought them wrong on the second, there might be some who would respect their opposition to a political encroachment. And should they be attacked on the ground of spiritual insubordination, it would be easy to represent that the other was their real offence; and thus they might hope to win support not from the King of France alone, but from the more independent even among the German Catholics.

It was on this occasion that, at the desire of the imperial cities, it was seriously proposed to admit the Swiss into the confederacy. The Saxons opposed the project; they enlarged, as before, on the eucharistical difference, and maintained that the secular advantages of the connexion, to which they were not blind, were as nothing when compared with those terrible and indiscriminate visitations, which God might be expected to inflict upon the members of so monstrous an alliance. The Landgrave had never desisted from the pursuit of this object. Nothing discouraged by his failure at Marburg, he now

again endeavoured by somewhat different means to accomplish the same end. On this occasion he availed himself of the mediation of Bucer, than whom no man was more desirous of the concord, or gifted with more suitable powers for its attainment.

Bucer composed, in the name of the Zwinglians, a request to the Lutherans to receive them into communion. Melancthon and Brentz, on the part of the latter, declined the overture. The Landgrave then argued, that the difference was not essential; seeing that both parties believed the bodily presence, and only disagreed as to the manner of the presence—the Swiss asserting that it was by faith, the Lutherans that it was absolute and independent of faith. But Luther and Melancthon persisted that a union based on such a ground would be an insult to the truth.

Bucer rejoined: When the Zwinglians avow that they receive the body of Christ by faith, it can be none other than the true body that they receive, and that true body can be no other than the very substance of Christ; to be received it must be present: thus, according to their opinion, the body is substantially present in the Eucharist, and the whole dispute is no more than verbal. But the Saxons would not accept that interpretation: they insisted that the presence, so ingeniously devised by Bucer, was no more than imaginary, and that it did not satisfy the sense attached to the same expression by themselves. Other discussions followed with no satisfactory result; and this is not perhaps surprising: for the true question was not respecting the existence of a difference—neither party seriously doubted that*—but

* The Landgrave would have admitted the Swiss into the league unconditionally, which was obviously the only method of effecting a permanent concord. The Saxon view of the question was supported by the senate of Nuremberg. Scultet. Ann. 1531.

whether it were of magnitude so overwhelming as unavoidably to perpetuate a breach, amidst circumstances the most critical, between two bodies of Christians engaged by almost every other tie in the defence of a cause, which they both devoutly believed to be the cause of God.

There is a letter from Luther to Bucer, written as early as January 22 in this year, in which he returned thanks to God that so much advance had been made towards concord, since both parties now confessed that the body and blood were verily in the Supper, and presented for the nourishment of the soul; but he then expressed his surprise, that, after this concession, there should be any difficulty in admitting, that it was presented along with the bread to the mouths both of the pious and impious.* Without that confession no union was, in his mind, possible: he could admit no full and solid concord with them, unless he would offend his own conscience and even sow the seeds of much greater confusion between the churches. "Rather let us endure this lesser discord, though with less peace than we desire."† He perceived clearly the extent of the evil

* "Etiam cum pane offerri foris ori tam piorum quam impiorum." In a letter written in the following March to Justus Menius, he said, "Bucer effecit tantum, ut concedant omnes vere adesse et porrigi Corpus Domini in Cœna etiam corporali præsentia. Sed cæteri tantum *fidei* animæ ac piæ sic porrigi et adesse in cibum. Bucerus vero consentit et impiorum manu porrigi et ore sumi. Hoc enim literæ ejus clare testantur."

† "Ita feremus potius hanc discordiam minorem cum pace minore. I am convinced," he continued, "that all the gates of hell, the whole Papacy, the whole might of the Turk, all that is worldly, all that is fleshly, all that exists of evil, could not very much injure the Gospel, if only we were united." To Ernest Duke of Brunswick he wrote, That far more evil than good would arise from the reconciliation; and that it was enough if both parties would abstain from recriminations until some solid concord could be accomplished.

arising from this division, and how safe the Gospel would be from every danger if only it could be healed ; yet his conscience rendered this impossible. " You will impute it to my conscience, and to the irresistible compulsion of my faith, that I decline this concord."*

Yet, from a letter written two months afterwards, to John Rauve,† it would seem that he was then better disposed to listen to the temperaments of the mediators. " I could wish, if they were really anxious for the concord, to give them all indulgence, that by the temporary endurance of their interpretations they might gradually be brought over to us, without any compromise of the opinion hitherto defended by us. Charity seems to require this. . . . " And the explanations were officially accepted.‡

The narrow limits of this charity are marked, however, only too clearly by some subsequent expressions of the writer. In the following October Zwingle perished by a violent death ; and Luther, on learning this great calamity to the common cause of Christ, thus vented, in confidential communications, the immitigable bitterness of his spleen :

" This then is the second judgment of God ! The first in Munzer's case, the second in Zwingle's. I was a prophet when I said that God would not long endure those rabid and furious blasphemies of which they were full, deriding our God, and calling us cannibals and blood-drinkers, and other horrid names. They would have it so !" And again : " Carlstadt is made

* " Conscientiæ meæ et necessitati fidei meæ impetrabis, quod hanc concordiam detrecto."

† March 28th, 1531 (No. 1365).

‡ Sleidan, lib. viii. p. 131. Strasburg, and some cities of Swabia, subscribed to the Confession thus interpreted, but not the Swiss. Scultet. Annal. anno 1531.

Zwingle's successor at Zurich,* which Zwingle they now proclaim a martyr, that they may fill even to the brim the cup of their blasphemies till it run over. . . ." And again: "You see that Zwingle, with so many of his brother-devotees (symmystis), has suffered for his dogma in a somewhat horrible fashion. So Munzer perished, so Hetzer, and many others, to the end that God might manifest by these prodigies of his wrath the detestation with which He regarded those impious spirits."

Meanwhile Charles, not unfaithful to the stipulations of Augsburg, had pressed upon the Pope the convocation of a council; but Clement still hoped to avoid that extreme resource. He expressed some dissatisfaction that the Emperor had not already assumed his proper character of advocate of the church, and chastised the rebels with the sword; and doubtless he still believed that matters must speedily be brought to that issue: he put no trust whatever in any other expedient. Yet he did not reject the demand: he even professed a disposition to indulge the wishes of those who imagined that, because councils had formerly healed disorders in the church, the same remedy would be no less effectual

* This was not true. The first passage was addressed to Link, the second to Gorlitz—both on the same day, January 3, 1532—and the third to Rothman, almost a year afterwards (December 23, 1532), as if to prove the writer's implacability. Others might be added. The following is the earliest burst of his feeling. On December 28, 1531, he wrote to Amsdorf—"The Zwinglians have come to terms with the other Swiss on the most humiliating conditions, besides the ignominious defeat which they received, having so haplessly lost the chief of their dogma; but such is the end of the glory which they sought by their blasphemies on the Lord's Supper!" Is this Luther standing by the bier of Zwingle? Is this the funeral dirge chanted over the great reformer of Switzerland by the great reformer of Germany? Is this the reverence paid to the ashes of a brother and a martyr? Is it even the common forbearance exacted by decency towards a fallen foe?

then; but he was very positive as to all the conditional circumstances—the time, the place, and the mode of deciding. The time was to be regulated by political contingencies—a moment of universal peace being, of course, that most favourable to religious deliberation. The place was to be fixed in some country undisturbed by spiritual sedition, and exempt from any overruling secular influence—what other than Italy, which was indeed the heart of the Catholic world? * The mode was to be that which was consecrated by ancient custom—that none should be admitted to vote except prelates (by right), abbots (by prescription), and any others on whom the Pope might personally confer that especial privilege. All these provisions, which it was not unreasonable in him to require, raised in fact so many insuperable impediments to the object of the Emperor.

For Charles was at that moment quite sincere in his desire for some council, which might be accepted by the Protestants. And thus his ambassadors urgently represented, that he had exhausted at Augsburg all the resources of diplomacy; that he had employed authority, menaces, caresses, every imaginable expedient; that only one alternative remained—a council or arms; and that the latter was impossible, in consequence of the danger impending from the Turks. The Pope on his side pro-

* “Come in provincia commoda e non sospetta a veruna delle nazioni, &c.” The cardinals argued, That general councils were never called but for the examination of new opinions, whereas those of Luther had been already condemned; that in the present imminent danger from the Turk and divisions of Christendom, a seditious council might take measures dangerous to the honour and integrity of the church, &c. &c.—Pallavic. lib. iii. cap. v. It was even argued, how great an advantage the Turk might gain, should he surprise the Christians occupied in the contentions of a council.—Guicciardini, lib. xx. See the following chapter.

posed, as the place for the council, Rome, Bologna, Parma, Piacenza, and whatever else was sure to be inadmissible beyond the Alps; and in such vain negotiations the greater part of the year was consumed.

Meanwhile the peril from the East became more imminent, and the position of Charles was not without perplexity. On the one side were the contumacious apostates from the church,—the common enemy of all Christendom on the other. Both were hostile, and he was unable to contend with both. In fact, he could not hope to repel the one without the positive and cordial assistance of the other. Thus it became necessary to temporise; and to Charles this was no difficult policy. Accordingly he summoned a Diet at Spire (for the 13th of September) and opened some previous negotiations with the Protestants. But the latter were far from betraying any disposition to recede from their former claims, and the Elector even notified that neither himself nor his son would attend the meeting, unless Luther were likewise permitted, under the protection of the imperial safe-conduct, to assist at the deliberations. Only a year before, the same proposal would have been considered, even by the Protestants themselves, as insulting to the Emperor.

They declared besides, that they persisted in the doctrine which they had proclaimed at Augsburg; they demanded the long-promised council; they prayed that it might be immediately assembled in Germany; they expressed their desire for a reconciliation of all differences, and asked no more than the peaceable profession of their religion until the decision of the council. The Diet was prorogued, but the Protestants assembled at Francfort in the December following, and repeated their refusal to contribute any succour against the Turkish invasion, un-

less perfect toleration were previously guaranteed to them.

The Emperor renewed his overtures, and after some correspondence it was agreed, that a conference should be held at Schweinfurt, an imperial city of Franconia, in the beginning of April (1532). The Elector of Mayence and the Prince Palatine appeared there as the agents of the Emperor under the specious title of mediators. They proposed several articles to the effect, That the Confession of Augsburg, without further innovation, or any connexion with Zwinglians or Anabaptists, should be the doctrine of the Protestants until the decision of a council; that these should make no attempts to diffuse their tenets in the Catholic States, or to disturb the jurisdiction or ceremonies of the church; that they should furnish supplies for the Turkish war; that they should submit to the imperial decrees and tender their allegiance to the Emperor and to the King of the Romans.

The Protestants resisted, and the ground on which they chose to fight their battle was the elevation of Ferdinand. They refused to acknowledge its validity, and supported their refusal by plausible arguments. The princes of Bavaria had recently joined their League with the same motive which was professed by the King of France, to enforce the repeal of that election; and thus, in a political view, there was no point on which they were so strong as that. But at the same time they put forward other demands in reply to the proposals of the mediators: That the Emperor should proclaim forthwith a general religious peace; that the two parties should be prohibited from offering any sort of molestation or insult to each other; that the imperial chamber should be instructed to suspend the execution of the sentences pronounced on religious matters. If these should be

accorded, they promised on their side not in any way to innovate into their Confession; not to convert or to protect the subjects of other princes; not to interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in places where it was still established; to render the most zealous obedience to the Emperor; and to furnish all possible supplies for the Turkish war. Some discussions ensued, which turned chiefly on the election of the King of the Romans; and as no agreement appeared then possible, the conference was adjourned to the 3rd of the following June at Nuremberg.

The union of the confederates was threatened at this time by a difference, important both in itself and in the dissension which it occasioned, though not on any theological matter. The question was simply this: Whether such states as might subsequently adopt the Confession should be admitted to the advantages of the truce about to be concluded with the Emperor?*. It was first moved in the beginning of 1532, when there was a fair promise of a religious peace, and the feelings and policy of the great majority led them at once to pronounce in the affirmative. The divines of Hesse, eight in number, were of that opinion. The Saxon Chancellor Pontanus maintained it confidently. But the Elector suspended his decision till he should have consulted his theologians. To the astonishment of all parties Luther expressed an opposite judgment, and on further consideration confirmed it.†

* "An Pax cum Cæsare concludenda esset inter eos qui tum evangelicam doctrinam receperint, exclusis qui in posterum eandem essent recepturi?" Seckend. lib. iii. s. 4, § ix. Addit. ii.

† The "Bedenken," in which Luther first pronounced his opinion, was dated April, 1532 (No. 1455). The confirmatory composition (No. 1456) is inscribed "Bestätigung des vorigen Bedenkens," and was signed conjointly with Bugenhagenius. The argument was, that the question was not of sufficient importance to risk the issue of the negotiation upon

A warm debate ensued. The divines of Luxemburg espoused the more generous determination; and Urbanus Rhegius, their chief, addressed (on the 19th of June) a warm and eloquent letter to the Landgrave. He pleaded that the peace proposed to them was treacherous and more dangerous than open war; that, even should it preserve their own persons and property, it would be injurious to the Gospel by excluding others from participation in it; that the ancient Christians were never brought to renounce, through any pains of death, the right of receiving converts into their churches. "We have then our choice. If we make this peace with the Papists, our faith, our justification, and our lives will be endangered, and we shall die in our sins. If we make peace with Christ we shall be hateful to the world indeed, but we shall live by faith. We cannot do both. How then shall we decide? Let Satan rage against us; let the world war against us; let Antichrist walk abroad; only let Christ favour us, and we shall live!"

Such sentiments were worthy of the earlier years of Luther. But on this occasion he opposed to them the calculations of a selfish policy: That it was not prudent to embarrass the treaty by any unnecessary stipulations; that it was enough for the parties interested to negotiate for themselves. His reasoning was adopted by his prince, and, in spite of the general dissatisfaction, for the time prevailed. But the controversy was continued between the Elector and the Landgrave for some months afterwards and with some warmth on both sides. And in the course of the discussions the latter observed, That he did indeed consider Luther as a good man, and had

it. In other letters, written shortly afterwards, Luther expressed himself warmly in favour of the peace, and seemed afraid of losing so desirable an object. Earlier (in February) he exhorted the Elector to withdraw his protest against the election of Ferdinand with the same view.

always held his works in high estimation, but that he regarded his opinion on this matter as absolutely null, since it was not in accordance with Scripture; that in respect to Melancthon, he made still less account of him, as his trembling timidity had been made sufficiently manifest at Augsburg. As direct intercourse between the chiefs seemed rather to exasperate the dispute, some moderate persons were chosen to confer on the subject, and through their discreet mediation the feud was presently extinguished. Enough was risked by the deliberate exclusion of the Swiss from the confederacy of Smalcald. To confine it within still narrower limits, by shutting the doors against the accessions of fresh members even of the Lutheran party, would indeed have been to foster discord and multiply the chances of destruction.

The negotiations, which had been broken off at Schweinfurt, were resumed at the appointed time at Nuremberg. Meanwhile the Turks were advancing nearer to Austria, and the heart of the empire was in danger. The discussions, which promised at first the same result as before,* were thus curtailed; the arguments of the diplomatists were silenced by the march of Solymán; and the conditions proposed by the Protestants were accepted (July 23, 1532). The Emperor was awaiting the result at Ratisbon, and it is recorded that, when the treaty was at length brought to him, subscribed by the Protestant chiefs, he seized the pen with an impatience not customary to him, and, without so

* Luther to Amsdorf, June 24, 1532 (No. 1460). "*De Turcæ adventa tandem certi ninium facti videmur. Præterea nihil scio novarum rerum, nisi quod nostri expectantur reduces re prorsus infecta et frustra consumptis opera, opere, tempore et aere. Fatum urget Papam et regnum ejum implacabili ira Dei. Wohlan, Wohlan! Sit sanguis super caput ipsorum. Wi haben genug gethanr.*"

much as examining the document, affixed his signature (August 2, 1532).

The articles of Nuremberg, or Ratisbon, contained the principal provisions which had been stipulated at Scheinfurt—viz., That the Protestants should enjoy perfect religious peace till the decision of a general council, to be convoked within six months; or, in failure of the council, till that of an imperial Diet; that no sort of molestation should be offered to any individual on any religious pretence; that the processes begun by the imperial chamber against the parties to this treaty should be null, as well as the sentences already passed; and that they on their side should render due obedience to the Emperor and assist him in repelling the Turkish invasion.

This was the first official act, in which the principle of religious toleration was openly acknowledged, and admitted as the basis of a political convention. And this was, perhaps, the most substantial triumph that the Reformation had yet achieved. It is indeed true that it was only a provisional agreement, and that it was extorted from Charles not by the physical power of the Protestants, still less by the moral authority of their doctrine, but solely by that strange providential dispensation, which converted the very arms of the infidel into an instrument for the revival of the Gospel.* Still it was an advantage of most essential importance. The edicts of Worms and Augsburg were now virtually suspended; and the interval of their suspension was indefinite. For, whatever period Charles might wish to prescribe, it was

* "By the tacit commandment of God the Emperor was called away from his designs against the Germans by the Turkish war. The dogs lick the sores of Lazarus. The Turk mitigates the edict of Augsburg. Canes lingunt ulcera Lazari. Turca mitigat edictum Augustanum." Melancthon to Camerarius. "No race of men," said the same, "were ever in greater peril than we were; no party was ever subjected to animosities more bitter than ourselves. There was no aid but from God."

more probable now, than at any former time, that Clement would be persuaded to convoke any council ; or if otherwise, it would be a council so purely papal as to insure its indignant rejection by the German people. And in regard to the alternative of a Diet, that was to return to an expedient which had already failed, and to re-enact the scenes of Augsburg, with some variations perhaps, but under circumstances far more favourable to the Reformers. Meanwhile their habits of religious independence would be confirmed ; and every succeeding year would make it more difficult to revoke a compulsory indulgence, which was accepted as a right. Doubtless the progress of just principles is commonly slow and against many obstacles ; but there is this compensating truth, that when a great step has once been made in that direction, it is seldom that it can be permanently recalled. There may be partial reactions, and defections to the old methods of thinking and acting ; but even these are generally modified by better influences, and take their colour from the more enlightened spirit predominant all around them.

The Protestants well fulfilled the obligation imposed on them by this treaty. The numerous and well equipped armaments with which they swelled the imperial force greatly contributed to repulse the foe, who, when he had accomplished, as it might seem, the mission of terror assigned to him from above, withdrew without inflicting, almost without attempting to inflict, any serious evil upon the empire.

CHAPTER XL.

TO THE DEATH OF CLEMENT VII.

Various opinions on the Convention of Ratisbon—indignation of the Pope—alteration of the general feeling in regard to Rome—death of the Elector of Saxony and accession of his son John Frederick—interview between the Emperor and Pope at Bologna—arguments on both sides respecting the expediency of a general council—joint mission into Germany and its fruitless negotiations with the confederates—conversion of some of the subjects of George of Saxony—interference of Luther and his dispute with the Duke—Luther's fresh and violent attack on Erasmus—various and overwhelming occupations of Luther, as apparent in his correspondence—his letter to Hieronymus Weller (note)—dispute between Link and Osiander on absolution—decided in favour of the former—judicious mediation of Luther—question as to the retaining of excommunication discreetly determined by Luther—the affair of the Duchy of Wurtemberg—Philip of Hesse restores Ulrich to the throne—prudent concession of the Emperor—intrigues and inconsistent policy of Clement—his alliance with Francis, then the ally of Philip—the treaties of Prague—the death of Clement VII.—his ambiguous reputation—general remarks on the progress of the Reformation during his pontificate.

LUTHER exulted in the Convention of Ratisbon. “Although in the late assembly at Augsburg the princes of our party seemed altogether devoured and destroyed, they are now for that very reason the more revived and free, insomuch that they have even wrought a change in the mind of the Emperor, and perceive with joy and gladness that all the hopes and efforts of the pontiff are turned into mockery. . . .”^{*} Even the more moderate

^{*} Luther to John, George, and Joachim, princes of Anhalt, September, 1532. (No. 1474.)

supporters of the church did not disapprove of the treaty; and observing the critical position of Charles, between the heretic and the infidel, and the necessity of making concession either to the one or the other, they applauded the resolution by which he humbled himself, for in some degree he did so, before his brother Christians and Germans.

Not such was the judgment of the Vatican. It had long been the maxim of Rome, a maxim which she was not ashamed to avow, that the worst of her enemies was a subject in rebellion; and that it was more essential to the preservation of that spiritual despotism, which she was pleased to call religion, to crush the domestic insurgent than to repel the casual invasion of the unbelieving foreigner. It was at Wittemberg, not in Hungary, that her battles were fought; and the name of Solyman had not so hateful a sound in the ears of her courtiers as the name of Luther. Her policy (I mean her ecclesiastical policy) was purely selfish; and it was for that reason that it was so invariably consistent and uniform, and so very commonly successful. Yet as Europe became more enlightened, princes began to discover that the advantage of their own subjects ought to be consulted in the government of their states, and that it was not wise to sacrifice their national independence and wealth for the aggrandisement of a city of priests, revelling in luxurious enjoyments and indifferent to every interest except their own. Such were the practical conclusions which necessarily followed from the principles of Luther; and they were frequently embraced even when the principles themselves were rejected. And thus a secret dissatisfaction with the yoke of Rome found place in the breasts of many, who sincerely repudiated the religious dogmas of the Reformation.

A fortnight after the ratification of the treaty, the

Elector of Saxony died,* at the age of sixty-two. During seven critical years he had directed with a steady hand the vessel of the Reformation; and, if inferior in penetration and sagacity to his brother and predecessor, he was not so in the honesty of his convictions and the firmness of his purpose. In doubtful cases he usually deferred to the opinion of Luther, and thus trusted perhaps to his safest guide; for if Luther did sometimes err, yet was there no man whose unbiassed judgment was so generally sound as his. At Augsburg he displayed a courage superior to the wavering of some of his theologians; and in justice to his memory we are bound to bear in mind how critical, how dangerous, during those four months, was the position which he occupied! by what a pomp of contemptuous foes he was surrounded, by what a display of authority and positive power! by what menaces his courage was tried, by what secret overtures his honesty was tempted! how free he was from every personal motive, how generously devoted to a public, and at that moment most unpromising, cause! and how he stemmed all his difficulties with a resolution so tempered by moderation as to preserve him from immediate overthrow, and ensure a certain and not very distant victory!

It is related that Charles expressed great concern when informed of the Elector's death. It may be that he had respected the years and character of a manly antagonist. It is certain that he looked with much more suspicion upon the qualities of his successor. John Frederick, the son of John, was in the flower of life, abounding in courage, fond of military adventure, warmly attached to the cause, and not less so to the person, of Luther. In fact, much intercourse had for many years taken

* Sleidan dates the Elector's death on August 13, but is corrected by his translator Courrayer, who fixes it more accurately on the 16th:

place between them. And if the prince on his side revered his ancient theologian and pastor, the light and boast of his university and his country, Luther had not been deficient in those courteous expressions of respect and deference, which pass for flattery when they are proffered to the great. Prince John was the Mæcenæas of his doctrine—the rampart of his reformation—and the praise, thus lavished in some measure by anticipation, may have fostered those rising qualities which grew in due season to deserve it.

No sooner had Solyman withdrawn his forces from the Christian States, than the Emperor departed from Vienna, with little preparation and few attendants, and took the road to Italy. From Mantua he wrote to the States of the empire to acquaint them with the object of his journey, and thence proceeded to Bologna, where he arrived about the end of November. The Pope, by previous appointment, received him, and they resumed, on the spot celebrated by a former interview, their personal deliberations. On this occasion they dispensed with all formalities in their intercourse, and confined their discussions to points of interest. Yet very little resulted from the meeting. As to political matters, Charles did not succeed in dissolving the connexion then in progress between Clement and the King of France. Their ecclesiastical discussion turned for the most part on that much agitated question, the convocation of the council.

If the Edict of Augsburg did not dispose the Pope to listen favourably to the imperial exhortations, it was not likely that he should be softened by the Convention of Ratisbon. Accordingly, the same objections were urged on this as on the former occasion. It had ever been the opinion of Clement, and he had frequently expressed it even during the life of Adrian, that a council was useful

in all matters except when it went to treat about the authority of the Pope, but then that it became of all remedies the most pernicious. In the same spirit he replied to Charles in 1530: As there is no more wholesome medicine for the malady of the church than a council seasonably assembled, so is there no poison more pestilent than one celebrated in the times and amidst the circumstances which have occasioned the disorder.*

He argued besides, in regard to the council then recommended, that, whatever should be its manner of proceeding, it could not possibly produce any useful effect. If the Lutherans should be admitted to disputation, the precedent would be dangerous and the dispute vain—because they acknowledged no authority but Scripture, in such parts only as seemed to them authentic, according to the translation which seemed to them faithful, according to the interpretation which pleased their own fancies, without reverence for the wisdom of antiquity, or for the sanctity of the fathers, or for the venerable canons of the church. Luther himself had disclaimed the authority of councils; his faction did not in any sincerity raise the present clamour, but only that they might gain time by it; and finally, a decided and irreparable schism would be the consequence most probably flowing from such a council. On the other hand, if one were to be assembled avowedly for the protection of the Pope, in which the Lutherans were to be allowed no share, then would all with one voice exclaim, that it was not a free council, not a Catholic council,—and on that plea reject its decisions, and renew their appeals and remonstrances.†

* Fra Paolo Istor. Concil. Trident., l. i. ch. xxx.

† Pallavicino (lib. iii. cap. v.) refers to the Archivio Vaticano dell' Istruzioni, in which are the "Acts of Augsburg, relating to the Council of the year 1530."

These were sound irrefragable arguments;* and the only reply that the Emperor could make to them was, that the evil, as it actually stood, defied any other remedy; and that those among the German princes, who were most ardently attached to the papal interests, were desirous of the council, as affording the only remaining hope of reconciliation and concord.

In the former negotiations the Pope had proposed five conditions, as indispensable to his consent:—1. That the council should treat on no other subjects, except the Turkish war and the suppression of heresy. 2. That the presence of the Emperor should be held essential to the continuance of its deliberations. 3. That it should meet in Italy—at Rome, Bologna, Piacenza, or Mantua. 4. That those only should have votes to whom the canons gave that right. 5. That the Lutherans should petition for the Council and promise to submit to its decisions. The Emperor had replied—That it would be more satisfactory to the Protestants if the Council should be convoked without limitation, and that the Pope might afterwards prescribe the subjects of discussion; that if it were speedily summoned he would assist at it, as long as any purpose should be answered by his presence; that Mantua and Milan would be the cities in Italy most acceptable to the Germans; that the same forms and usage should be observed in this as in former councils; that the Protestants would certainly not act as

* Courayer, in his Notes on Sleidan, justly remarks, that the sort of council demanded by the Protestants had no precedent either in Scripture or in history. In the Council of Jerusalem the Apostles were the only agents. In the earliest councils of the church the heretics were indeed heard, but there is no proof that they voted; neither did laymen, even of the highest rank, on matters of faith. So that, when the Protestants wished to take from the Pope and his bishops the right of decision in the council, and transfer it to their own theologians, they had no more in view an impartial determination than their opponents.

the Pope required of them, but that this was not necessary, since the Council would be convoked against them.

The consultations at Bologna turned on the same points, and the parties at length arrived at two conclusions: That they should respectively despatch a nuncio and an ambassador to Germany, who should act together and treat conjointly with the sovereigns of that country; that the Pope should write to Ferdinand and the States of the empire to announce his intention of convoking forthwith an œcumenical council, and to solicit the concurrence of all Christian princes in accepting it. The consistory was indeed consulted previously to any final agreement, whether there would not be some humiliation in making such advances to the Elector of Saxony. But it was decided that it was charitable to attempt the peaceful conversion of heretics, before an appeal was made to the sword; and that the Vicar of Christ Jesus should ever carry in his heart the example of his Saviour, who conversed even with publicans and sinners, that He might bring them to repentance. Accordingly the Pope, though not without reluctance, appointed a nuncio for that purpose, Hugo Rangoni, bishop of Reggio.

The Emperor then departed, dissatisfied with the dispositions and suspecting the designs of his spiritual ally; and passing through Milan and Genoa set sail for Spain and landed at Barcelona on the 8th of April, 1533. It is not unimportant to note this, since the periods of his absence from Germany were the most favourable to the progress of the Reformation.

The Pope observed his engagement and immediately sent Rangoni, accompanied by Lambert Brieres on the Emperor's part, on his mission into Saxony. The Elector was at Weimar, where he received them. The nuncio represented, in the usual phraseology, the ardent desire of the Pope to terminate the differences by peaceful

methods, and the delight with which he co-operated with the Emperor for the convocation of a council. He then proceeded to explain the sort of council which Clement proposed, and expressed his hope that all parties would previously consent to accept it; otherwise, he observed, the other princes of Christendom would be justified in enforcing its decrees against the disobedient, and maintaining the authority of the church. The ambassador took little share in this discussion. In fact, his master was very indifferent as to the conditions on which the council should be assembled, provided that either the Lutherans would submit to its decisions and thus restore what he most desired—the unity of the empire; or, should they refuse, that they would at least place themselves in so small a minority, as to make it no longer difficult to crush them.

John Frederick, after some consideration, replied, that before he could give any definite assent to these proposals, he must consult his confederates; and, as a meeting was to be held at Smalcald on the 24th of the following June, that they would then deliberate on the subject and communicate their official resolutions. The nuncio did not object to this delay; for the Pope was no more anxious for the council than the Protestants, and the one was as well pleased to temporise as the other. In fact, the clamour of the latter, though decidedly supported by public opinion in Germany, would scarcely have been so loudly raised, had they not penetrated the secret resolve of Clement; and one of the circumstances, which tended to make that clamour popular, was the terror which it was known to inspire at Rome.*

* Ranke (v. i. b. iii.) cites an anonymous letter to the Archbishop Pimpinello, in which it is mentioned, "that the price of the offices at Rome fell so much on the mere rumour of a council, that no money could be

The allies returned (on the 30th of June) the sort of answer which was probably foreseen: That no pacific offices would be of any avail unless the council were held in Germany, where the disputes had arisen; that the truth must be decided by the test of Scripture, not by the decrees of the Pope, or the doctrines of the scholastics; that such were the councils of the primitive church, wherein no deference was paid to human traditions or to the ordinances of the see of Rome; that in a council, such as that proposed by Clement, the accuser would be at the same time the judge; that they, notwithstanding, if their presence should be thought useful, would not refuse to attend, but that they would render obedience to no papal demands or decrees which were not confirmed by the Diets of the Empire. In conclusion they conjured the Emperor to set bounds to that rapacious despotism, which had so long flourished on the calamities of the innocent. This manifesto, containing these and other less important declarations, they were not contented to deliver to the two ambassadors, but they published it at the same time for the information of all the Christian world. Clement, not well pleased with the result of this mission, chose to ascribe it to the indiscretion of his nuncio. He recalled Rangoni on pretence of his age and infirmity, and appointed Peter Paul Vergerio, then nuncio at the court of Ferdinand, in his place.

Early in the year 1532 Duke George of Saxony found reason to suspect some of his subjects of inclination to the Lutheran tenets; and it appeared that there were some citizens of Leipzig who refused the papal communion, and passing the frontiers to a neighbouring village,

got for them. *Gli affizii solo con la fama del Concilio son invilili tanto, chi non sene trovano danari."*

in the dominions of the Elector, there received the sacrament in both kinds. The Duke took measures to ascertain the persons of the offenders, and prohibited that proceeding. They appealed to Luther for advice, and he replied in a letter "To the Evangelical Christians of Leipzig," April 11, to the effect: That those, who believed from their hearts that the double communion was essential to their salvation, ought rather to submit to any inflictions than to violate their conscience. This was well; but not thus contented, he launched forth some severe censures against the Prince, after his ancient fashion. This communication produced its effect; the malcontents were contumacious, and the Duke without hesitation sent them into exile.

He then addressed to the Elector a formal and indignant complaint against the seditious interference of Luther, as tending at once to raise contempt against himself and rebellion amongst his subjects. Luther replied with confidence, that in advising the persecuted to submit to punishment he did not excite them to rebellion; that he had defined in various writings the limits of civil obedience so clearly, and supported his principles by arguments so solid, that a subject hitherto clouded by the dark influence of Rome was now universally understood, and his own opinions altogether cleared from the imputation of sedition. Cochläus replied on the part of his patron with great warmth. But a reconciliation was effected between the princes by other means; and it was prudently stipulated that they should respectively prevent their divines from introducing into their disputes the names of their sovereigns. On the 4th of the following October Luther addressed to the evangelical exiles an epistle abounding with religious courage and consolation.

George of Saxony was not the only one among his old antagonists; against whom the bitterness of Luther was at

this time revived. He assailed Erasmus with even fiercer fury. In the course of February, 1534, he gave loose, in a letter to Amsdorf, to the following expressions: "At one time I used to impute to him extraordinary thoughtlessness and vanity of speech, so negligent seemed his treatment of sacred matters, and so I pushed and roused him like a man asleep, to excite him to livelier disputation and action. But now I assent to your opinion that it was not inconsiderateness, but in truth, as you say, ignorance and malice. He has lately published among other matters a catechism, composed with an artfulness truly Satanical; and he thinks by this very astute device to prejudice the youth of Christendom, and to embue it with his poisons.* He complains that it is a terrible affliction to him that he is taken for a Lutheran. For, as Christ lives, they do offer him a great injury, and it is for me to defend him against those enemies of his who call him Lutheran; since, to my certain knowledge and by my faithful evidence, he is no Lutheran, nor anything like a Lutheran, but nothing more than Erasmus. . . I for my part could wish that he were altogether exploded from our schools; for even though he were not pernicious, yet is he nothing useful: he teaches nothing, he treats of nothing. Nor is it expedient to accustom the Christian youth to this Erasmian diction; for they will learn from it to handle no subject with seriousness and gravity, either of speech or thought. And through this

* The Arian imputation is repeated in these terms: "Recte Carpen-sis ille, quisquis fuit, eum reprehendit, tanquam fautorem Arianorum in Prefatione Hilarii, ubi scripserat—nos audemus Spiritum Sanctum appellare Deum, quod veteres ausi non sunt. Lege eum locum et observa mihi Diabolum incarnatum. Hic locus fecit, ut ego Erasmo non credam, etiamsi confiteatur assertis verbis, Christum esse Deum; sed dicam illud Chrysippi sophisma: Si mentiris, etiam quod verum dicis mentiris . . . At noster Rex Amphibolus sedet in Throno Amphibologiæ securus, et duplici, &c."

levity and vanity they will gradually lose their feeling for religion.”* Again, writing to the same Amsdorf, on the 28th of the following June (No. 1590), Luther advised him, in his controversy, to overlook the inferior swarm† who were defending Erasmus, and to confine his attacks to the principal—“for it is better that letters should perish than religion, if letters be resolved not to serve religion but to trample her under foot.”

A still more envenomed condemnation, proving still more clearly the depth of the feeling whence these hostile acts proceeded, is contained, where one would least expect to find it, in a few short lines addressed by him to his son John, then about six years of age: “Erasmus, the enemy of every religion and the singular foe of Christ, the perfect copy and idea of Epicurus and Lucian. I, Martin Luther, write this with my own hand to you my dearest son John, and through you to all my children and to all those of the holy church of Christ. Lay up this in the very bottom of your heart, for it is no small matter.” And this was the whole communication.‡

When we examine the correspondence of Luther during this period and perceive the variety and mass

* This was the attack to which Erasmus replied in his letter “*Adversus Calumniosissimam D. M. L. Epistolam*,” mentioned in a former chapter.

† Luther, in the above letter of February, 1534, boasts of the number of hostile tracts which he had himself extinguished by his silence. “*Nosti quam soleam hoc genus scriptorum silendo et contemnendo vincere. Quot enim libros Eccii, Fabri, Emseri, Cochläi et aliorum plurimorum, quī videbantur velut montes parturire, . . . ipse meo silentio sic delevi, ut nulla eorum extet memoria. . . .*”

‡ “*Erasmus, hostis omnium religionum et inimicus singularis Christi, Epicuri Lucianique perfectum exemplar et idea. Manu mea propria ego Martinus Lutherus tibi filio meo charissimo Johanni et per te omnibus liberis et meis et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Christi. Sensibus hæc imis, res est non parva, reponas.*” The letter is without date, but De Wette refers it to the end of 1533 (No. 1554.)

of affairs which perpetually occupied him,* we are disposed to wonder, how he found so much time and energy to bestow on matters not necessarily forced upon him; why he sought to revive an expiring controversy; when every day presented some fresh claim on his leisure, and raised up some new circumstance requiring his immediate attention. Sometimes we find him prescribing statutes for the general regulation of his churches, which prove the vigilance and also the wisdom of his superintendence; sometimes, delivering instructions for the particular guidance of their pastors and ministers. There are letters relating to many important points of ceremony, practice and doctrine, such as the communion of the sick, the administration of private baptism on occasions of necessity. There are letters relating to visitations, letters of ordination,† letters of recommendation of priests and of schoolmasters—for Luther never forgot how closely the progress of education was connected with the stability of his religious edifice, and how the principles of his reformation were especially addressed to the

* In the very letter of aggression on Erasmus he says: “*Sum satis occupatus nostris docendis, confirmandis, corrigendis, gubernandis. Deinde solum onus illud vertendi Biblia nos totos sibi vindicat; a quibus operibus Satan me forte tentat avocare, sicut antea fecit, ut meliora descrens frustra secter nubes et inania.*”

† The following was the form of ordination, as described by Luther in a letter to Myconius of December, 1535. “*Remittimus vestrum Johannem per vos vocatum et electum, per nos quoque examinatum et publice coram nostra Ecclesia inter orationem et laudes Dei in vestrum comministerium ordinatum, confirmatum, ad mandatum Principis nostri Licet D. Pomeranus non satis facilis ad hoc fuerit, ut qui adhuc sentit, quemlibet in Ecclesia sua ordinandum per suos Presbyteros. Quod fiet tandem ubi ista res nova et ordinatio altius radices egerit et mos firmior factus fuerit.*” By an Ordinations-zeugnitz delivered on October 7, 1531, by Luther to one Stizelius (Luther’s Letters, No. 1780) it appears that the orthodoxy of the candidate and his abhorrence of all fanatical opinions were previously ascertained.

young. Neither, along with this, did he overlook the temporal interests of his teachers, as there are several among his epistles relating to their salaries and stipends.

Intermingled with all these are very numerous letters of consolation—some addressed by him to persons suffering under religious persecution, or any public, or local calamity; while others were merely intended to soothe the pangs of private affliction, in disappointment, in sickness;* under any domestic loss, of a wife or a child; in the visitations of melancholy, or of those inward spiritual combats, which no man ever waged with more convulsive struggles than himself.†

* Among these is a long letter addressed to his mother on her death-bed, replete with scriptural comfort and exhortation. It is dated May 20, 1531. (No. 1379.)

† In this class of letters there is one of great singularity addressed to Hieronymus Weller, on Nov. 6, 1530:—"You may feel sure that this temptation of yours is of the devil, and that you are thus vexed because you have faith in Christ; for you see how secure and joyous he leaves some, who are the most inveterate enemies of the gospel, as Eck, for instance, Zwingle, and some others. It is absolutely necessary that all we who are christians should have the devil for our adversary, and foe . . . This devil is conquered by trifling with him and contemning him, not by resistance and dispute. You must, therefore, joke and sport with my wife and with others. . . . When I first entered the monastery it fell out that I was always sad and melancholy, nor could I cast off that sadness. Wherefore I consulted Dr. Staupitz, and unfolded to him what dreadful and horrible thoughts I had. 'Thou knowest not, Martin, how useful is that temptation to thee, and how necessary' As often then, as the devil shall afflict you with those thoughts, fly at once to society, or drink more than usual, or jest and trifle, or perform some other act of cheerfulness. For it is occasionally proper to drink abundantly, to jest and trifle, and so commit some sin or other, in hatred and contempt of the devil, and that we may leave him no opening to make us overscrupulous about matters absolutely insignificant. . . . Wherefore, if the devil should say to you, 'Don't drink a drop!' do you take care and answer him, 'Nay, for that very reason, because you prohibit it, I will drink plentifully, ay, in the name of Christ Jesus, I will drink copiously. . . .' Quoties istis cogitationibus te vexaverit Diabolus, illico quære confabulationem hominum,

Many cases of conscience were likewise brought under his consideration; indeed, it was natural in the then unsettled condition of moral as well as religious principles, which were in transition from an ancient into a new and more expanded shape, that the hand which had ostensibly occasioned the change should be expected to regulate its operation. Thus many questions of marriage and divorce were submitted to his decision; and among them the great question of the age, the divorce of Henry VIII. And there is extant a very long letter from him to Robert Barnes, dated September 5, 1531, on that subject. And besides all these, we find numerous epistles on less important matters, thanks for presents, petitions for individuals, and all the little topics of ordinary correspondence.

His many letters of recommendation would prove, if proof were necessary, the great extent of his influence; the conciliatory spirit in which others were written, show to what beneficent purposes that influence was directed. And as the crown of these various labours he was frequently called upon to remove the political scruples of the great, and to solve, by his predominant judgment, the perplexities of kings and princes. And this for the reason just mentioned—because the maxims of former

aut largius bibe, aut jocare, nugare, aut aliquid aliud hilarius facito. Est nonnunquam largius bibendum, ludendum, nugandum, atque adeo peccatum aliquod faciendum in odium et contemptum diaboli, nequid loci relinquantur illi, ut conscientiam sibi faciat de rebus levissimis . . . Proinde, si quando dixerit diabolus: Noli bibere; tu sic fac illi respondeas: Atqui ob eam causam maxime bibam quod tu prohibes, atque adeo largius in nomine J. Christi bibam. . . .” This sounds strange, and has given occasion to scandal. Yet in the language of a more modern age, and of ordinary mortals, it only means:—“Be not enslaved to small religious scruples and melancholy fancies, vexing yourself about the most insignificant trifles: but battle boldly against them—fly to society; have recourse to conviviality, rather than sink beneath such notions.”

ages were overthrown and prostrate, because no better code was yet established in their place, and because, during this interregnum of principles, the man, who was the visible author of the revolution, became the dictator, in matters of political, as well as religious and moral, casuistry.

Yet in the midst of all these affairs, Luther never lost sight of his constant and most important occupation, the interpretation of Scripture. Among his letters there is one, of February, 1532, addressed to Weit Dietrich, in which he writes:—"I am meditating a Preface to the Prophets, but my health impedes me. Every day before dinner I am afflicted to death with dizziness and the vexation of Satan, so as almost to despair of my life, and of ever returning to you. After dinner I console the Prince or some one else. My head will work no more . . ." Those bodily infirmities, of which we read so many complaints from the time of his Patmos even to the end of his life,* serve only to augment our astonishment at the indefatigable energy of his mind.

The ecclesiastical questions which were referred to his decision were sometimes very delicate in themselves, or connected with delicate circumstances. In the course of 1533 a serious dissension arose at Nuremberg between two reformers of considerable distinction, on the subject of absolution: Link and Osiander maintained opposite opinions as to the retention of that power, and the public

* He suffered much at Coburg:—"Jam violentius et pertinacius caput meum oppressit et vexavit tinnitus seu bombus potius ventorum turbini similis." So he wrote on September 23 to Cordatus. Four months afterwards (Jan. 15, 1531), we find him explaining the cause of this indisposition in a letter to Link:—"The confusion in my head, which I contracted at Coburg through the use of old wine, has not yet yielded to the Wittenberg beer. So I work sparingly, &c. Morbum capitis Coburgæ contractum a veteri vino nondum vicit cerevisia Wittenbergensis. . . ."

or private exercise of it by the ministers of the Protestant churches. The people were similarly divided, and the dispute acquired some importance. On the 18th of April, Luther and Melancthon addressed a joint "Consideration" (Bedenken) to the senate of Nuremberg, detailing various reasons for not rejecting public absolution; and again, on July 20, the former endeavoured, by a second interference, to reconcile the difference. On the 8th of October a sort of conference took place between the four theologians, with the addition of Caspar Cruciger, on the same subject; and this was followed by other letters of Luther, both to Link and Osiander, composed with much good sense, and in the purest spirit of forbearance and conciliation,* in which he exhorted them to retain the practice, until the time for a temperate decision of the question should arrive; and above all to take heed, lest the spark just kindled at Nuremberg should break out into a general conflagration among the Evangelical churches.

Another question, which arose at the same time, he treated with the same judicious moderation. The theologians of Hesse, already sensible how much influence over the people was conferred by the power of excommunication, deliberated on restoring it to their churches.

* These documents are respectively numbered 1512, 1530, 1531, 1541, 1542. The letter of July 20 (No. 1531), is to Link, admitting some fault in Osiander, but exhorting him to treat the latter with forbearance, as a fallen antagonist. "*Vos statis et erecti estis, ille lapsus est et jacet. Quid juvat exultare et plaudere de ejus casu? . . .*" On October 8, he wrote to both and to the same effect: "*Interim tu, Osiander, ut hactenus, in tua ecclesia non graveris usu absolutionis publicæ; rursus illi suam sententiam apud se retineant, et, ut hactenus, utantur ista absolutione, donec animis pacatis et priore pace firmata, sine animorum offensione de hac re statuere liceat . . . at connitere, ut ista scintilla apud vos sopiatur, ne incendium crescat, quo nos simul corripiamur. . . .*" Both parties pleaded "conscience" in excuse for their pertinacity.

Luther was, of course, consulted. "This," he replied in substance, "is my advice :—That you make your first steps gradually and insensibly, as we do here, by repelling from the sacrament of the Eucharist those who seem to deserve excommunication. This is the true, which they call the minor, excommunication : the major, or political excommunication, is by no means to be attempted ; first, because it is not in our power to execute it . . . next, because it is not in accordance with the spirit of this age ; and the endeavour to re-establish it being above our strength, would occasion nothing but ridicule. The civil interference would be required to enforce it. It is not certain that the Prince would consent to this, nor in any case should I desire that the civil power should interpose in that office, but rather that it should be altogether separate ; to the end that a real and clear distinction may be established between the two authorities. . . ."*

An affair, in its origin purely political, which occurred at this period, so terminated as to make no contemptible addition to the strength of the Reformers. In the year 1519, Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg, gave offence to the League of Swabia, by the seizure of an imperial city, Roteling, a member of the league, and was immediately deprived of his dominions. These were in the first instance occupied by the Emperor, but were afterwards placed under the sceptre of Ferdinand. The exiled Prince was nearly related to the Landgrave of Hesse, and the latter made great exertions in his favor at the Diet of Augsburg, and gained many of the members to his party. But he was overruled by Charles, who

* June 26, 1533 (No. 1525). "Nec vellem politicum magistratum in id officii misceri, sed omnibus modis separari, ut staret vera et certa distinctio utriusque magistratus."

argued in a long discourse against the justice of his demand, and publicly granted the investiture of the duchy to his brother.

The Landgrave was not thus defeated; and finding that his German friends were not prepared to yield him efficient support, he had recourse to another quarter. He opened negotiations on the subject with Francis, and even went into France to conduct them in person. The occasion was favourable, through the absence of the Emperor in Spain, and the continual and distant occupations of the King of the Romans.

Philip appeared at the court of France in the beginning of 1534, and was received with every honour—for it was then the policy of Francis to protect the League of Smalcald—and his mission was so far successful that he obtained a considerable loan, though on conditions which it was almost impossible for him to fulfil. It is needless, however, to enter into these details. The Landgrave returned. With the sums supplied by France he raised a respectable force, and after an interchange of manifestos with Ferdinand, invaded the disputed territory, and routed the army assembled for its defence. He then took possession of the whole duchy without further resistance, and reinstated Ulrich in the sovereignty.

The Emperor thundered. But a calmer consideration of his own position at the moment changed his purposes of vengeance into a disposition to conciliate the power which had struck the blow. The Landgrave, no doubt, acted in secret concert with the other Protestants, as well as under the avowed protection of Francis; and Charles prudently shrank from any step which might throw the League of Smalcald into the arms of his enemy. Accordingly he instructed the Elector of Mayence to negotiate with the Protestant princes for the termination of all

differences ; and among them not the least was this, that they persisted in refusing to recognise Ferdinand as King of the Romans.

Finally, two treaties were concluded,—one between Ferdinand and the Elector, the other between the same and Ulrich of Wurtemberg. By the former it was stipulated that the articles of Ratisbon should be faithfully observed ; that no sort of legal procedure should be instituted on religious grounds against the Protestants (the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries being expressly excluded from this benefit) ; that the princes of Smalcald should recognise Ferdinand as King of the Romans ; but that the election to that dignity should thenceforward be conducted according to the forms prescribed by the Golden Bull. The latter conveyed the Duchy of Wurtemberg to Ulrich and his male successors as a fief of the Archduchy of Austria, on condition that the duke should make no alliance against the House of Austria, and exercise perfect toleration towards his Roman Catholic subjects. These treaties were signed on June 29, 1534, and they placed the Reformation in a safer political position than any that it had previously attained.

Yet the international relations of the chief powers were at that moment so perversely complicated, as to give little promise of stability to any result arising out of them. Clement, through the seeming inclination of his temporal policy, through the nice calculation of his family interests, and most of all, perhaps, through his terror of the council suspended over him by the imperial hand, had forsaken the alliance of Charles, and united himself closely with France. France, again, maintained a good understanding with the confederacy of Smalcald, and was in actual alliance with the Landgrave of Hesse. There is reason to believe that, but for the seasonable concessions of the Emperor, the victorious arms of Philip

would have been conducted across the Alps against the Spanish conquerors of Lombardy: thus the Pope was in friendly and almost immediate connexion with the Protestant princes. It is even asserted that he encouraged their resistance to Charles, and delighted in the aspect of their independence. His policy was guided by his fears: the Emperor was the bugbear of the moment; and any result which tended to curtail his power was thought a triumph. Yet the position of the Protestants at this crisis was the true one, rather than his. Their's was a single object, to secure their emancipation from Rome; and this could be thwarted by no earthly means, except the direct hostility of the Emperor. Therefore it was a welcome matter to them to see that hostility provoked by their only real foe, and turned away from themselves against the power which alone they detested. While Clement, whose object was not single, but who was distracted by many and quite inconsistent purposes, while he thought to make the Landgrave's arms the momentary instrument of his own secular views, did, in fact, contribute to the permanent and substantial power of the spiritual rebels.

Still, though his connexion with Francis would have justified the open aggression of Charles, he remonstrated in his usual tone of indignant dissatisfaction against the above treaties. It was to him an unpardonable offence that so rich and populous a province, so favourably situated for the propagation of the opinions which it was now sure to adopt, should be thus delivered over to the Protestant confederacy. It was in vain that Ferdinand attempted to vindicate the act by necessity, and to show that still greater losses would have been occasioned by an opposite policy; the Pope affected to consider nothing but the impending apostacy of Wurtemberg; and no doubt he was sincere in his wish both to prevent that, and

to involve the Emperor in a continued conflict with the Landgrave. This intensity of his selfishness was better known to none, than to the sovereigns who generally supported his despotism; and thus, if there existed some dangerous jealousies in the camp of the reformers, if some unessential differences were aggravated by the zeal of religious enthusiasm, the vigour of the enemy was broken by mutual distrust, and its operations paralysed by perpetual broils and bickerings. The policy of the Protestants was simple and uniform, and there was little to divert it from its straight course. The spiritual policy of Rome was equally direct; but it was disturbed by the continual interference of the temporal interests of the see, or the personal schemes of the Pope of the day, which warped its action and weakened the efficacy of its best devised measures, and defeated its craftiest calculations.

Three months after the conclusion of the treaties of Prague, on September 27, 1534, Pope Clement died. "He died," according to the expressions of Guicciardini,* "detested by his court, suspected by the princes, with an offensive and hateful reputation—for he was esteemed avaricious, faithless, and by nature indisposed to do good to mankind." In addition to the evil qualities here specified, others mention an obduracy and inclemency, which grew with the decay of his frame, and the morbid weakness of declining life. The virtues commonly ascribed to him are gravity, parsimony, self-control, circumspection, or, in Fra Paolo's expression, dissimulation

* "Muorè odioso alla corte, sospetto ai principi, e con fama più presto grave ed odioso che piacevole, essendo riputato avaro, di poca fede, ed alieno di natura da beneficiare gli nomini. . . . E nondimeno nelle sue azioni molto grave, molto circospetto, e molto vincitore di se medesimo, e di grandissima capacità, se la timidità non gli aveva spesso corrotto il giudizio." Lib. xx. See also Fra Paolo, Lib. I.

—for, indeed, the last was so essential a quality at the court of Rome, that he who excelled in that, in which all aspired to excel, deserved the sort of praise attached to such pre-eminence. “His capacity,” continues Guicciardini, “would have been on the largest scale, had not his timidity frequently perverted his judgment. Yet his capacity was suited to detail rather than superintendence: he had been an accomplished minister, but he was not a great prince. His very sagacity in the penetration of hostile designs, the very foresight with which he anticipated all imaginable obstacles, even the slightest, unnerved his government, and prevented the vigorous pursuance of any steady policy. And though the difficulties of his position were indeed such as to make it questionable whether any combination of wisdom and consistency could have carried him successfully through them, his was certainly not the character best qualified to contend with them.”

Accordingly we see that the history of his pontificate is a journal of disasters. On his accession to the see he found the reformers, not indeed despicable, but neither quite certain of their own views, nor fully acquainted with their strength. They were contending, indeed, with courage and honour in the diets of the empire; but they were united by no visible bond; they were assembled round no common standard; they had issued no general manifesto; they had assumed no general designation—in a word, they were not yet disciplined or organised, and it might have seemed no difficult matter to break and disperse them.

But step by step they acquired all these means of co-operation and elements of stability. The Catholic league, cemented by Campeggio, though in most respects a wise expedient, yet taught the necessity of union to the reformers, and suggested a precedent and a model for

their confederacy. Again, the protest of Spires compromised them to express principles, and gave them a name, and attached certain distinct ideas to their name. Next, the confession of Augsburg rallied them round a body of intelligible doctrine; and those who had once asserted and contended for it, in the face of all Christendom, would not easily be induced to forsake it. All these transactions confirmed them, besides, in the habit of acting together for a common interest, and against a common foe. And at last, fortified by the continual accession of new adherents, and aided, through God's providence, by the broils of international politics, they entered on a bolder course, and negotiated as equals, and successfully, with the Emperor himself. And this, their virtual independence of Rome, was confirmed by treaties, which were indeed only provisional, but which it would still be very difficult, under any probable circumstances, to cancel. So that Clement, as the result of all his struggles and stratagems, left the insurgents in a far stronger position than that in which he found them. He found them a mere sect, unacknowledged, undisciplined, unpractised in negotiation, or co-operation; he left them a strong compact religious community, fortified by a political confederacy.

CHAPTER XLI.

TRANSACTIONS IN ITALY AND GERMANY TILL JUNE,
1539.

Paul III. elected Pope—his professed zeal for a council of reformation—his appointment of cardinals—he sends Vergerio as nuncio into Germany—conference between Vergerio and Luther at Wittemberg—accounts of this event—remarks on them—the Protestant princes object to a council at Mantua—Henry VIII. makes overtures to the League of Smalcald—on what condition they are accepted—subsequent proceedings—Charles returns from Africa to Italy—his entry into Rome—his unreserved communications with the Pope—which end in a Bull convoking a council at Mantua—the Protestants assembled at Smalcald deliberately reject the council—presence and influence of Luther at this meeting—articles signed on this occasion—the reservation of Melancthon, and suspicions occasioned by it—other measures adopted by the League—conduct of Francis—the Duke of Mantua refuses his city—and the council is prorogued to Vicenza—committee of reform appointed at Rome—its report—discussed in full consistory—further consideration of it deferred—twenty-eight articles proposed in it—they become known in Germany, and give a triumph to the Protestants—Paul mediates at Nice with some effect between Charles and Francis—the council of Vicenza is then adjourned—and then further postponed *sine die*—remarks on this matter—and on the general difficulties of the position of the Pope.

It is related that Clement, who had for some months presaged his approaching dissolution, declared in the presence of many of the cardinals, that, if the Popedom could be bequeathed by him, he should appoint Cardinal Farnese for his successor. This cardinal was a Roman, of informed and cultivated talents, of benevolent feelings, “of an easy, magnificent, and liberal nature,” of consummate discretion, and of long experience in the affairs

of the see, having attained the age of sixty-six years, and enjoyed the purple for forty-one. On the 11th of October, immediately after the obsequies of Clement, the cardinals entered into conclave, and on the morning of the 13th they announced the election of Farnese. Many causes concurred to accelerate their determination. Much scandal had been occasioned by the inordinate duration, sixty-four days, of the preceding conclave. It was desirable to anticipate the probable interference of the Emperor. The personal character of the party could not fail, in that crisis of the church, to have weight with the wisest. To the ambitious his advanced age offered the prospect of a speedy vacancy. Even the recommendation of Clement may have exerted its influence: at least it would appear that the choice was already fixed by a common understanding among the prelates, before they proceeded to the form of election.

It had long been usual for every cardinal, while in conclave, to declare on oath that, should the appointment fall on him, he would, among other obligations, immediately convoke a council—a promise which had been invariably violated. On this occasion the formality was dispensed with; and Paul III. ascended the spiritual throne free from any such engagement. Yet it so proved that he instantly undertook, and with the appearance of a voluntary zeal, the task so carefully evaded by his perjured predecessors. Even before his coronation, only three days after his election, he summoned a general congregation of the Sacred College, and expounded his views on that subject with great earnestness: that the remedy could be deferred no longer: that the concord of Christendom and the extinction of the heresies depended on its immediate application: and then, as some pledge of his sincerity, he commissioned three cardinals to deliberate on the time and place and other necessary

circumstances, and to make their report at his first consistory.

At the same time he broached another subject, which, with whatever eye the council might be regarded, could not fail to give displeasure to his hearers. He represented to them, that one of the principal subjects of the council's deliberations would be the corruption of the church; and then, since it would ill become the dignity of their body to receive reformation from the hands of others, he suggested that they would do well to anticipate any such interference by correcting themselves; since the decrees, which might be directed against the inferior clergy, would fall with little effect, unless a commanding example were set by the self-amendment of the highest.

The consistory assembled on the 13th of November, but with no important result. It was agreed, that the political peace of Christendom was essential to the efficacy of a council; and that Paul should despatch his nuncios to the various courts to mediate for that purpose. Meanwhile, those who watched him most closely began already to question his sincerity. Through the same diplomatic experience which had refined his understanding, he had acquired, like his predecessor, the habit of profound dissimulation. It was that among his qualities which he valued most.* His eagerness for the council was thought by some to be altogether feigned, and his zeal for self-reformation to proceed from a secret desire of inspiring the sacred body with a detestation of the threatened council, and thus making them his instruments to elude or prevent it. There were others who believed him honest; and the reputation of the men whom he first promoted to the purple—Gaspar Contarini, Sadoletus, Caraffa, Giberto, Pole—

* Fra Paolo. Lib. i. cap. 50.

threw for the moment an honourable lustre upon his own. But this was tarnished by an act of nepotism more ordinary in the annals of the Vatican. He elevated his nephew and his son, two boys, the one of fourteen, the other of sixteen years, to the same dignity. This was not the disinterested purity which was the only shelter then remaining to the papal power against the storm that menaced it. This was not to exhibit to the distant friends of Rome the elevated model which, at that crisis, they had a right to expect from her. This was not to furnish, even to the members of his own court, an example of that virtuous self-denial which he so loudly recommended to them.

He appointed Vergerio to the office of nuncio in Germany, after personally consulting with him on the state of that country. His instructions were to make general professions of desire for the council; to prevent the assembling of any national synod or conference; and by personal negotiation and the use of all amicable expedients, to win over, one by one, the chiefs of the party, and thus dissolve the League. Vergerio fixed himself in the first instance, and in the absence of the Emperor, at the court of Ferdinand, and there tampered with such of the Protestant princes as occasion presented to him. Presently, learning that Joachim of Brandenburg was dead, and had left two Protestant sons, he decided to travel to Berlin, where they resided, and to treat with them. To that end he was obliged to traverse Saxony; and so, being provided with guards to protect him from personal affront, he decided to visit Wittemberg. This was in the November of 1535.

On this occasion a conference took place between the nuncio and Luther. The circumstances are, of course, variously related. According to Fra Paolo, it was the nuncio who made all the advances towards reconcilia-

tion. He represented the high estimation in which Luther was held at Rome, the strong desire entertained there to restore him to communion.—He flattered, he caressed the heretic; and, in return, was overwhelmed by an effusion of indignation and scorn.—It mattered little to Luther in what light he was regarded at the Vatican. The service of the Pontiff resembled that of Christ, as darkness resembled light. The severity of Leo X. and the bitterness of Gaetan (to which the nuncio had alluded with expressions of regret), were to him most fortunate circumstances, since they had compelled him to persist in his search after truth. The Church of Rome stood, like a secular establishment, upon mere human reasons. Whether the proposed council shall turn to good or evil, will depend, not on Luther, but on the Pope. If it be free, if the Holy Spirit alone preside over it, if the sole arbiter of controversy be Holy Writ, then will Luther attend it with Christian sincerity and charity, not for the interest of the Pope, but for the glory of Christ and the peace and liberty of His church. And, lastly, it will be easier for the Pope and his nuncio, and all his hierarchy, to embrace the faith of Luther, than for Luther to return to theirs. . . . These and other independent expressions are ascribed to Luther by the Venetian historian; but, though perfectly consistent with probability, they do not rest, so far as I am informed, on sufficient authority.

Pallavicino contradicts some part of this account, and substitutes another, standing on strong, but not unsuspicious evidence—the official letters of Vergerio himself. According to this statement, the nuncio reluctantly received the visit of the heretic, and listened with pain to his many sophistries, absurdities, and puerilities, utterly removed from reason. In respect to the council,

Luther expressed his distrust in it, because it was the pleasure of Satan, for the punishment of human pride, to infuse the most irrational errors into the wisest of the sons of this world. . . . but, at the same time, his resolution to assist at it, and to defend his opinions, even at the risk of his life, against the whole universe—it was not his own wrath, but the zeal of God, which forced him to speak thus warmly. . . . Vergerio remarked, besides, that the Latin which Luther spoke was so extremely barbarous, as to make it a question whether he were indeed the author of those eloquent and even classical compositions which bore his name.

A third account is that of the Wittembergers,* less elaborate indeed than those of the Italian writers, but bearing stronger marks of truth. According to that, Vergerio arrived at Wittemberg, on Saturday, November 6th. Early on the following morning Luther sent for his barber, and informed him, “That he was summoned by the nuncio of the most holy father, and that he wished to make his best appearance before him, to the end” (as he jocosely added) “that I may be taken for a younger man than I am, and so terrify my enemies with the threat of a long life.” Having put on his best attire, and even placed a golden ornament on his neck, he entered a carriage, together with Pomeranus, exclaiming with a smile, “Here are Pope Germanus and Cardinal Pomeranus! It is the work of God.”†

In conversing with Vergerio concerning the council, he said that the Pope was not serious in his promise; that he was deluding them; that, if it were to meet,

* *Lutheri Opera*, tom. vi. Alt. fol. 492, apud Seck. lib. vii. sect. vi. §. 34. It is the work of one person, who admits that all the circumstances of the interview had not come to his knowledge.

† “*En Papa Germanus et Cardinalis Pomeranus! Opus hoc Dei est!*”

nothing important would be treated in it, but only matters of no account, such as tonsures and stoles—nothing about faith and justification, about the union of Christians in the bond of the Spirit and of faith; for such was not *their* (the papal) interest; that he and his friends had no need of a council for their edification, but only those wretched souls who, under the oppression of the Roman tyranny, knew not what their faith really was. However, call your council, and I will attend it, with God's will, though it so fall out that I be burnt there.”—“Where will you consent that the council be held?”—“Wherever you wish—at Mantua, Padua, Florence—anywhere.”—“At Bologna?”—“Whose is Bologna?”—“The Pope's.”—“Well, good God! and has the Pope seized that city too? I will go even thither.”—“But the Pope may possibly come to Wittenberg——.” “Let him come; we shall be delighted to receive him.” “But shall he come with an army, or in peace?” “As he likes—we shall be prepared for both.”

The legate afterwards inquired whether priests were consecrated in Saxony? “Certainly,” replied Luther, “they are consecrated, since the Pope will not consecrate or ordain for us. See, here sits our bishop” (pointing to Pomeranus) “whom we have consecrated.” And after other discussions, conducted on Luther's part with perfect openness and fearlessness and great severity, the nuncio, while mounting his horse, exclaimed, “See, then, that you hold yourself in readiness for the council.”—“I will come, my lord, and bring this neck of mine along with me.”*

From the comparison of these three accounts it is manifest that there is some truth in all. And without

* “Vident sis instructus ad concilium.” “Veniam, Domine, cum isto collo meo.”

entering into any consideration of particulars, wholly unimportant, we may confidently conclude, from each and from all of them, that the reformer maintained his bold and manly character in this conference, that he expressed no fear of the council, nor any reluctance to attend it, and that he taught the Roman courtier what a rude experiment it was to parley with Luther.

Vergerio found the princes not more obsequious than the divines. He proposed to them to accept Mantua as the place of the council, and he recommended it by several plausible considerations, among which it was one, that Germany was so infested by Anabaptists, Sacramentaries, and other sectarians, as to afford no space for calm and impartial deliberation. The Catholic princes expressed their assent. The Protestants deferred their reply till their next meeting at Smalcald, at the end of 1535, in order both to gain time and to secure a more general co-operation of the party. In effect, on the 21st of December they issued an elaborate manifesto, signed by fifteen princes and the deputies of thirty cities, expressing their objections, and the principles on which they were founded.

There was little in this document which had not been already advanced in some other form. They claimed the imperial promise that the council should be held in Germany. And, admitting the necessity of such an assembly for the good of the Commonwealth and the safety of all, for the repression of the persecutors of the Gospel, and the restoration of order in the Churches, they described the sort of assembly which they demanded—that it should be free and legitimate, composed of talented and learned men, chosen and approved by the Emperor and the other princes, and having for the sole guide of their decisions, the Word of God. Councils, they declared, were not the tribunals of the

Pope, nor of priests alone, but of all the orders of the church, the laity included ; and it was a tyrannous injustice to prefer the power of the chief to the authority of the whole church, of which the executive was rightfully vested in the temporal sovereigns. In the present case many important questions were in dispute, on which the Pope had pronounced with an arbitrary severity. It remained for the princes to determine by impartial rules the manner of the future proceedings, to apply the sincerity of justice to the disorders of the church, and to legislate according to the dictates of reason and the example of the primitive communion. To a council thus constituted they promised entire obedience and zealous co-operation for the restoration of concord.

The assembly at Smalcald was on this occasion attended by the ambassadors of France and England. Francis and Henry were alike desirous to turn against their rival the divisions in his empire, and to employ the spiritual malcontents as implements of their own ambition or revenge. Francis had appeared first in that field ; but Henry was at that instant the more ardent suitor. He exhorted the Protestants to persist in their opposition to a council, which would serve no other end than to confirm the papal authority ; and he condescended to offer himself as a member of the League. Had the confederates been very weak or very timid ; had they regarded the seeming advantage of the moment, rather than the more permanent interests of a more considerate and long-sighted policy, they would have yielded to that temptation. But they reflected, that the fidelity of that most unscrupulous prince would depend entirely upon the continuance of the motives which led him to seek their alliance. They perceived, of course, that he who persecuted their brethren in England could have

no attachment to their creed ; and they were determined that their league 'should be an association strictly religious, united not merely by the same temporal interests, but also by the same doctrinal opinions. Thus the very same principle which impelled them to reject the Sacramentaries, encouraged them to prescribe conditions even to the king of England. It was already a great triumph for them, that he had sought their league ; it was a still greater, that they did not rashly seize the overture.

Among the stipulations which they proposed to him were the following : That he should embrace the Confession of Augsburg ; that he should defend their cause in a free council ; that he should accept no council without their consent, and protest, in common with them, against a purely papal assembly ; that he should take the title of Protector of the League, and furnish one hundred thousand crowns for its necessities. When these preliminaries should be settled, they engaged to send ambassadors for the conclusion of the treaty.

Henry perceived from this reply how independent was the spirit of the Protestant confederacy. He perceived, likewise, that it rested on a purely religious foundation, not, as he probably suspected, on political dissatisfaction, pretending religion. On doctrinal points he doubtless entertained the same opinions as when he descended into the lists against Luther ; and the recollection of that controversy was not calculated to soften him into any professions of insincere concurrence. Yet he was desirous, through enmity both to the Emperor and the Pope, to continue even so hollow a negotiation. And thus, while he returned on other points an ambiguous reply, he requested the confederates to send an embassy to his court, and to empower it to explain or modify certain of the articles of the Confession, to which

he found some difficulty in yielding his assent. The Protestants, in no great hope, perhaps, of removing his scruples, or cementing with him any solid alliance, yet sensible of the advantage of any friendly intercourse with so powerful a monarch, agreed to send the embassy. They even appointed its members—Sturin, Draco, Bucer, and Melancthon. But the violent changes which took place in England in 1536 prevented any immediate result from these proceedings. Some envoys were indeed afterwards sent to England; but not the most distinguished among the Reformers, nor had their mission any success.

Meanwhile, where was the Emperor? While so large a portion of his German subjects were daily confirming their independence, how was the hand occupied which might have coerced them? Charles was engaged in distant warfare, conducting that celebrated African campaign, in which he overthrew the power of Barbarossa, and became master of Tunis. This conquest he achieved on July 21, 1535; but he allowed himself little space either to enjoy or to secure it. He presently departed for Italy. He arrived at Naples in November, and during the four following months, forgot the anxieties of royalty and the stings of ambition, amidst the delights of that paradise. Thence he proceeded to Rome. At Rome he was welcomed with all the pomp of ecclesiastical magnificence. Two cardinals and a numerous escort of prelates received him at the frontier. Without the gates all the members of the sacred body awaited him; on the 5th of April he made his entry on horseback, followed by all the hierarchy of Rome in gorgeous procession. The streets were strewed with carpets, and the citizens, in armed files, lined them on either side. Thus he made his progress to St. Peter's. But then he descended from his pride in the presence of

a superior. He advanced, like a subject to the pontifical throne, and kissed, in humble allegiance, the foot that was presented to him. Surely it must have cost some struggles to the lord of three kingdoms, flushed as he was with recent victory, in the very abundance of his strength and prosperity, to bend at such a moment, on so public an occasion, under the eyes too of several of his own subjects and soldiers, to an act even of customary humiliation. But it is a part of the dispensation of that Being, before whom all men are equal, sometimes to abase the proudest beneath the power of their fellow-mortals, lest they should forget that there is a King of kings, before whose throne they must one day kneel, as sinners and as suppliants.

Thirteen days were spent by him at Rome in continual and unreserved intercourse with the Pope. Their apartments at the Vatican were contiguous, so that they possessed that freedom of private communication so seldom permitted to princes. Yet their consultations had no satisfactory result. The mission of Vergerio had altogether failed, and the nuncio had reported to his master that no resource was left for the reduction of the Protestants, except the sword. Paul proposed that method. The Emperor affected to consent; only, for the justification of such a proceeding in the face of Christendom, he required the previous sentence of a general council. That judgment he should be prepared and able to execute; but to attack the schismatics without it would only be to multiply and exasperate his foes. For it should be mentioned that he was even then on the brink of another war with France, and the territory of Milan was about to become once more the object of a struggle, on which no Pope could ever look with indifferent eyes.

Paul may have thought that moment favourable for

the convocation of a council, because under the circumstances then threatened, no council deserving the name of general could possibly be assembled. At least he listened with apparent willingness to this proposal; and, after relating how the confederates at Smalcald had insisted on the choice of some German city, he expressed his determination so far to satisfy their wishes as to appoint Mantua, which was a fief of the empire. The Emperor approved; and the time was fixed for the June of the following year (1537); and then, after delivering in full consistory a fierce harangue against the King of France, whom he accused of perpetually thwarting his two great designs, the repulse of the infidels, and the extinction of heresy, he departed from Rome (April 18), with the same honours which had attended his reception.

After a vain attempt to reconcile the two monarchs, Paul proceeded to fulfil his engagement. On the 29th of May (or June 2) he issued the bull for the stipulated convocation of a council at Mantua, exalting that city by various recommendations. And presently afterwards, in adherence to his original principle, that the example of improvement should likewise proceed from Rome, he published a second bull for the Reformation of his court and capital. But neither the one nor the other of these proclamations produced the results which he professed to expect from them.

In the beginning of 1537 the Protestants held an assembly at Smalcald. Matters were now advanced one step further than at their former meetings. The long threatened council was actually summoned; and the question of their accepting it or not was no longer contingent or conditional. A positive determination on a specific point of action was required of them. There was no longer any place for evasion; and that no pre-

tence might be left them, the nuncio at Vienna, Peter Worst, and Matthew Helt, the vice-chancellor of the empire, attended the meeting, and expressed by their perfect concert the union which prevailed, at least on one subject, between their masters. The nuncio was received, both by the Elector and Landgrave, with contempt, and almost with discourtesy; and the pontifical briefs which he placed in their hands were restored to him unexamined. The duties of the conference devolved, therefore, for the most part, upon the imperial officer, who advanced the accustomed arguments in favour of submission.

They returned a decided and deliberate refusal. In vindication of that resolution they urged, among many general considerations, that the decrees of four imperial Diets had promised them a German council; that the brother of the Duke of Mantua was a powerful member of the sacred college; and that the safe conduct of Charles might no more avail them in Italy, than that of Sigismond had preserved the Bohemian Reformers at Constance. The vice-chancellor remonstrated in vain. In vain the nuncio reiterated reasons and assurances. The Protestants replied, on the last of February, with force and confidence, and immediately published their resolution in an elaborate manifesto.

Luther was present at this assembly; and the high tone assumed by the Reformers at that conjuncture may be ascribed in a great measure to his influence. Never, even in his earlier and more passionate days, when he was heated by the danger and the novelty of the strife, never did he inveigh with more immoderate vehemence against the Pope and the Pope's authority. The Pope, beyond all dispute, was the Antichrist. His authority, so far from resting on any right divine or human, was an

arrogant and blasphemous usurpation, and every act proceeding from it proceeded from the devil; and as to the futile argument, that it was necessary for the preservation of unity among the faithful, it had never been found to produce that result. No earthly chief was needed by the church of Christ; and the best principle for its regulation was to admit the spiritual equality of all the bishops under one head, which head was Christ.*

Certain articles, composed by Luther † at the Elector's

* Luther published in 1537 a short tract, entitled "*Cur et quomodo Christianum concilium debeat esse liberum. Item de conjuratione Papistarum.*" In treating the latter subject, he produced the forms of the oaths of allegiance to the Pope taken respectively by doctors of law and theology, by notaries public, and by bishops; appending the severest censures to each of them. The following is a specimen: "As far, then, as I understand, it is not the duty of the papist doctors to employ disputation, or the interpretation of law, or the precepts of Scripture, or the sentiments of justice, for the overthrow or conversion of heretics, schismatics, and rebels. Nothing of this kind can be used against those whom the Pope falsely calls heretics, since the word of God is on their side; but it is by violence, you hear, by violence, that they are to be persecuted and assailed. And since doctors of this kind cannot carry on an open and legitimate warfare, I do not see how they can use violence, unless it be by poison, or secret and insidious homicide. What wonder then that in the Pope's kingdom there is such a harvest of poisoners, assassins and robbers, since the doctors are no other, as appears from this oath, than a sworn conspiracy of poisoners, assassins, and robbers? . ." In the year following he published a preface to the acts of the Diet of Nuremberg, written in his ancient style, and ending: "*Wenn wollen wir Deutschen doch einmal auffwachen und greiffen, wie gar schendlich die Bepste Kärdinel und Römisher Bösewichter uns allzeit generret, geeft, geraubt und beschissen umb leib und seel jemerlich betrogen, und noch nicht wollen noch können auffhören uns alle plage an leib, gut, und seele auszulegen? . . .*" Autographa Reform.

† Quite in the beginning of 1537. As it was Melancthon's desire to modify some of those articles, it was intended to open an amicable discussion on the subject; but Luther's illness prevented this. The Elector gave his decided adhesion to Luther. Seckend. l. iii. sect. 16, § 55.

command, in general conformity with the confession of Augsburg, received the signatures of the divines and ministers present at Smalcald. Melancthon alone thought proper to modify the expression of his approbation. "I approve these articles as pious and christian. In regard to the Pope, my opinion is, that, if he would hearken to the gospel, we might, for the sake of his subjects present and future, concede to him that superiority over the bishops, which otherwise he possesses by human right." * This disposition to make any concession, at a crisis when the most unbending firmness was essential to the very safety of the cause, occasioned much clamour against Melancthon, not unattended by suspicion. And this was not lessened by a very flattering letter which he received about the same time from Sadoletus,† the most accomplished literary ornament of the court of Rome. But Melancthon, though weak and flexible, was far removed above any meditation of treachery. And in this case he proved his integrity by

* "Ego Philippus Melancthon supra positos articulos approbo ut pios et Christianos. De Pontifice autem statuo, si Evangelium admitteret, posse ei, propter pacem et communem tranquillitatem Christianorum; qui jam sub ipso sunt et in posterum sub ipso erunt, superioritatem in episcopos, quam alioqui jure habet humano, etiam a nobis permitti." Si evangelium admitteret! This condition rendered the protest entirely unmeaning in one sense. But it had another—that Melancthon was not prepared, like most of his brethren, even at that time to cast off the papal authority altogether. This infirmity of their literary leader became in time proverbial among the Reformers, and was designated *Philippism*.

† Dated Rome 15 Cal. Julii, 1537. It is a very courteous and elegant epistle, praising the learning, virtues, dispositions, talents, of the Reformer, and expressing an ardent desire for his friendship. And though it admitted some differences of opinion, yet—"non is sum qui, ut quisque a nobis opinione dissentit, statim eum odio habeam. Sed faveo ingeniis, virtutes hominum colo, studia literarum diligo . . nec dubito quin tu eadem mente et voluntate sis præditus. . ."

giving every publicity to the cardinal's communication, and, so far as is known, by returning no answer to it.*

At this meeting the confederates adopted other measures for their further confirmation and security. They admitted several new members into their league and under their protection, among whom was Henry, brother of George of Saxony. They promised aid to all who were vexed by the suits of the imperial chamber. Pecuniary contributions were undertaken, to be advanced in case of war. Provisions were made for the establishment and conduct of a military force. All assistance to the Emperor, whether against the French or the Turks, was refused both by the league as a body, and by all its members separately; and friendly negotiations were resumed with the King of France. They justified at length, in a letter addressed to him and composed by Melancthon, the whole course of their proceedings in the affair of the council, and entreated him to be their advocate, both in respect to its freedom and the place of its meeting.

The reply of Francis was conceived with a provident ambiguity. He maintained that the council should be universal, that the place should be free from suspicion of any partial influence, and that the proceedings should be conducted after the manner of former times. His views were purely political. In his hostility to Charles, doubtless, he would not have accepted Mantua, which was indirectly subject to the Emperor. But for the

* Camerarius. De Phil. Melancth. Vita, &c., Narratio diligens. In 1539 Melancthon published a tract, "De Ecclesiæ Auctoritate." It is a calm historical collection of the opinions of the ancient fathers, and the decrees of the earliest councils, intended to conduct the christian youth to the real truth of the question, and certainly not calculated to lead them to any undue deference for the papal authority.

same reason, he abstained from any promise to insist on a German city.* In his heart he was indifferent to the real issue of the question, and he detested the principles of the Protestants. Yet he was desirous to foment the disorders of the empire without compromising himself to the particular views of the malcontents; and he cared not how profusely the heresies might be scattered in the dominions of his rival, provided he could exclude them, even by means the most tyrannical and barbarous, from his own.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Mantua, perceiving that the council, contrary to his expectation, was really summoned, and that the two principal parties seemed earnestly bent on giving it a reality, repented of his own share in the transaction, and wrote to the Pope to insist on such conditions, as amounted to a retraction of his consent. Those who accounted dissimulation among the prominent qualities of Paul, saw nothing but premeditated collusion in this change. It is certain, that after a bold remonstrance, issued with every appearance of sincerity, but entirely ineffectual in altering the resolution of the duke, he published at the last moment, on the 20th of May, 1537, a bull to prorogue the council till the November following. And this was followed, on October 8, by another, which again prorogued it till

* There is extant a letter from Henry VIII. to the Emperor, published seemingly in 1538, in which he refused the various proposals of the Pope for reasons in some respects the same with Luther's, and with much profession of ardent devotion for the doctrine of Christ.—“*Quid alii Principes facturi sint non satis scimus; verum nos neque regnum nostrum hoc tempore deseremus, neque causam nostram, in qua totius regni nostri salus vertitur, cuiquam præterquam nobis ipsis credemus. Imo nisi alius æquior iudex detur commodiorque tractandi causam nostram locus, etiam si cætera adsint omnia de quibus conquerimur, nos ad hujusmodi Concilium nunquam accedemus.* . .” *Autographa Reform.*

May 1, 1538, and appointed Vicenza as the place of meeting.

At the same time he returned, with an augmented show of earnestness, to his concomitant scheme of self-reformation. He appointed a committee of four cardinals, the most recent and liberal members of the sacred body, and five other prelates, to investigate the abuses most requiring correction, and to make a careful report to him. After several conferences they did so; and as this is a new phænomenon in the history of the church, it becomes proper to mention, which were those among its vices that were most offensive to the wisest and most virtuous portion of its hierarchy, and called, in their judgment, for an immediate remedy.

The whole number designated was twenty-eight. The first respected the ordination and appointment of priests and prelates. The committee complained that men were commonly advanced to the sacred office who possessed neither capacity nor morals,* and sometimes at too early an age; whence arose scandals without number, and a general contempt of the whole ecclesiastical order, and a growing disregard of the services of God. The second

* It is curious to compare with this official report the view taken by Guicciardini of the abuses of his church. Lib. xx. "La quale (la corte di Roma) e con l'autorità delle Indulgenze, e con la larghezza delle dispense, e con volere le annate dei beneficii che si conferiscono, e con le spese chi nella spedizione di esse si facevano negli uffizii tanto moltiplicati di quella corte, pareva che non attendesse ad altro che ad erigere con quest' arti quantità grande di danari da tutta la Christianità, non avendo intrattanto cura alcuna della salute delle anime, ne che le cose ecclesiastiche fossero governate rettamente. Perchè e molti benefizii incompatibili si conferivano in una persona medesima; ne avendo rispetto alcuno ai meriti degl' uomini, si distribuivano per favore, o in persone incapaci per età, o in uomini vacui al tutto di dottrina e di lettere e, quel ch' è peggio, spesso in persone di perditissimi costumi."

Now, there are many who absent themselves for entire years together."

Of the nine following articles six respected the abuses of the monastic system, some of the worst of which were very candidly acknowledged. In the sixteenth, it was made matter of complaint that the professors in many universities proposed theses for disputation savouring of impiety, and treated theological questions little to the edification of the people. It was recommended that the bishops should exert their superintendence over the religious education there delivered, so as to exclude all works of dangerous tendency, and particularly, for it was so specified, the Colloquies of Erasmus.

The twenty-first in the list of abuses was Simony, "which has made such progress," according to the report of the committee, "and is now so common in the church, that it is practised for the most part without shame; that the crime is expiated by money; and benefices, obtained by methods the most unjust and criminal, are retained without scruple. We do not deny, most holy father, that your holiness can absolve the offenders, and remit the penalty which they have deserved. But, in order to prevent the temptation to offend, it would be wiser to punish than to pardon: for is there anything more shameful and pernicious than such a traffic?"

The three which followed related to matters of less importance; and after thus stigmatising what seemed to them the most flagrant abuses of the church, the commissioners mentioned four others in especial reference to Rome, since it was from Rome that the example of the purest morality, as well as the soundest doctrine, ought without any question to proceed. The first of these was the mean attire and filthy appearance of the ministers officiating in St. Peter's. The second, the number of courtesans who paraded the streets and lived in afflu-

ence, attesting the unparalleled profligacy of the city. The third, the violent enmities which reigned among many of the people. The fourth, the negligence in the administration of hospitals, and of the funds destined to the support of widows and orphans. The prelates closed their report by some flattering expressions of confidence in the zeal of the Pope, for the restoration of the peace and purity of the church.

Whatever may have been the secret intentions of Paul, —whether his professions had any real meaning, or were as illusory as his ardour for the council most probably was, —this Report, presented by a committee of his own appointment, consisting of his own creatures, and those the most distinguished men in Rome, touched on so many important questions, and with so much discretion and force—questions several of which directly inculpated the see itself—that it was essential to his own honour, and even to the preservation of a show of decency, to submit it to a serious and public examination.

Accordingly, after some private consultations, he proposed it to the cardinals, in full consistory. A very warm debate ensued. On the one side Nicholas of Schomberg, a Dominican, cardinal of Capua, argued at great length: That the present was not the moment to broach the subject of reform; that the wickedness of mankind was now become so excessive, that, if the gates of one evil were to be closed against them, they would immediately set about to create other and greater evils; that there was less inconvenience in enduring one established and known disorder, and which gave less scandal because men were accustomed to it, than in introducing a novelty, which for that reason would be the more remarkable, and more liable to censure; that the Lutherans would take the credit of this reform to themselves, and assume, from the very admission of delinquency, the

justice of their own cause; that from the correction of abuses it was but one step to abolish good uses, and undermine the essential groundwork of religion. On the other hand Cardinal Caraffa maintained: That things had proceeded so far as to make some reformation necessary; that it could not be longer delayed with safety; and that it was a good and Christian rule not to dispense with the performance of a manifest duty, lest evil should possibly result from it.

The sacred college was divided, and the decision to which it came sufficiently proved which was the stronger party. It was agreed that no bull should be issued on the subject of reform; but that the matter should be thoroughly discussed in the council which must soon assemble. Some particular suggestions of the committee the Pope determined, cautiously and insensibly, to realise; but all consideration of the great bulk of the question was deferred to some more convenient season.

It was likewise decreed that all those proceedings should be kept in profound secrecy. Yet a copy of the Report very soon found its way into Germany,* and immediately fell into the hands of the Protestants. They saw their advantage, and made the most of it. Two editions were instantly published, with annotations; the one in Latin, by Sturm; the other in German, by Luther.† And though the commentaries, that of Sturm especially, were composed with no great acrimony, yet was the fact itself a great occasion of triumph to the

* Sleidan supposes the copy to have been sent by Schomberg, which at first sight would seem improbable. Yet Courrayer expresses his doubt whether Schomberg, in spite of his speech, was at heart hostile to Reform. Neither question is important.

† Entitled: "Ein Rathschlag etlicher Ausgelegener Cardinal. . . . vom Besserung der Römischen Kirchen, au Bapste Paulum. . . ."—*Autographa Reformatorum.*

enemies of Rome, that she had at length confessed her guilt; and it gave still further ground for exultation that, with this consciousness of her vices, she did not possess the resolution to correct them.

Meanwhile the war between Charles and Francis continued to rage with unabated fury; and the Pope at length bethought himself to come forward in his proper character of mediator and pacificator. To that end he negotiated an interview with the rivals at Nice. He arrived there on May 18, 1538, and was presently followed by them. During a fortnight of continual intercourse he urged upon them separately the advantages of peace; he endeavoured to remove obstacles, he entered into the particulars of their respective demands and explanations, and was the vehicle of all their communications. The result was not altogether unsatisfactory: for, though he could not unite them by a treaty, he induced them to conclude (on the 18th of June) a truce for ten years—a longer space than the probable duration of their concord. He then returned to Italy, after this rare display of apostolical virtue,* and an accident, which soon afterwards brought the princes into personal intercourse (for at Nice they would not consent to meet), still further conciliated the not unfriendly dispositions in which Paul had left them.

The legates did actually appear at Vicenza in May,

* Of course it is asserted, that Paul had private designs in all this matter; that he had really at heart nothing nobler than the interests of his own family; that he had the particular object of negotiating the marriage of his niece with the Duc de Vendôme; that the attitude of mediator flattered his ecclesiastical vanity, &c. . . All this may be so; and certainly no more determined nepotist ever held the Roman See than Paul. Yet the charge is not so clearly proved as to command belief; and when the action is really great and noble, it is ungenerous, if it be not unjust, to arraign the motive. No act was ever performed by any man which malice might not impute to selfishness.

1538, to preside over the appointed council. But they found themselves alone: at least, as no prelates were present either from Germany or France, the meeting was virtually null. The Pope, having vainly attempted to persuade the sovereigns to enforce the attendance of their bishops, published (on the 28th of July) a bull of prorogation till the following Easter. When that time arrived, though the urgency of the measure was more than ever manifest to the more provident friends of the church, yet Paul sought pretexts for still further delay. On this occasion he summoned a consistory on the subject, willing to share with his cardinals the responsibility of whatever course might be adopted. The cardinals were divided. Some maintained that the very thought of a council should be altogether abandoned, and every step that had been taken in that direction retracted. Others declaimed with energy on the expediency of the council; at the same time carefully avoiding any act or expression which might really call it into existence, and insisting that the choice of time and place should be left entirely to the Pope. The result then was this: on the 13th of June, 1539, Paul published another bull, by which he suspended the council already convoked, till such time as it should seem good to the Pope and apostolical see to hold it.

Thus, after almost nine years of negotiation, interrupted, it is true, but never broken off; with the Emperor constantly urging, whenever his political schemes did not wholly engross him, the same object,—and that upon two Popes of very different professions, and not very similar characters, after personal and most unreserved communications with both of them; with the cardinals not refractory; with no prince or party in Europe objecting to the general proposition, while the weight of public opinion was decidedly in its favour,—

the matter remained exactly where it stood at the recess of Augsburg. The interested timidity of Clement, and the loud professions of Paul, ended in the same policy, that of evasion and procrastination; and the result, if success indeed it can be called, was successful.

Doubtless the see of Rome was then involved in difficulties, which almost precluded any decided measures. The Protestants, strong and daring, publicly refused the sort of council which was offered them. Charles desired it; but he desired it, as the Pope well knew, not so much with a view to the pontifical interests, as to his own. Francis and Henry had been both engaged in friendly negotiation with the Reformers; and both were capable, should it suit the expediency of the moment, of protecting them openly. These considerations recommended delay; yet, on the other hand, that same delay was what the reformers desired most earnestly, as it gave them time to fortify their league, to extend their connexions and alliances, to heal, had that been possible, their intestine broils, and to accustom the powers of Christendom to the sight of spiritual independence. Surveying all these circumstances the Pope might well be perplexed to decide, whether it were more perilous to delay the council or to assemble it. For a choice of dangers was all in fact that remained to him, and neither decision was likely to extricate him. For the season was at length arrived, when the crimes of so many centuries were to be expiated by adversity and disgrace; nor was there any expedient of earthly policy which could have restored to the church its universal despotism, and placed it again in that triumphant position in which Luther found it.

Space indeed for a great internal reformation was still open, and there was its best and only prospect now. Yet a Pope might naturally apprehend that his own

power would be curtailed by such a measure ; and that consideration might make him less confident in any scheme for the regeneration of the Catholic communion. If the advantage of the see should really be placed in collision with that of the whole body, the man who occupied the see would possibly prefer the nearer interest. Thus involved in perplexities was this subject, as it would be regarded at the Vatican ; and thus did these perplexities occasion, as was most natural, doubt, weakness, duplicity, and designed and protracted procrastination.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE SACRAMENTARIAN CONTROVERSY.

Perseverance of the Landgrave and Bucer—Luther to the Senate of Frankfort—ministers of Augsburg—conference at Cassel between Melancthon and Bucer—apprehensions of Luther—his conciliatory tone during 1535—his correspondence—Bucer confers with the Swiss—conference at Wittemberg—Articles of concord signed there—further negotiations with the Swiss—Bucer and Capito dispute with them at Zurich—imperfect result—Luther's letter to Bullinger—remarks—the false ground on which all these attempts proceeded—Luther's subsequent out-break against the Swiss—his letter on the publication of the Swiss bible—his letter to Probst—remarks.

WHILE the enemies of the Reformation were thus disturbed and fluctuating, and by their personal or political schemes and jealousies thwarting their common object, the more politic among the Protestants were still endeavouring to close the only important breach which divided their body. The Landgrave never desisted from his favourite enterprise; and in this he ever found a zealous and faithful instrument in Bucer. Perceiving the fruitlessness of correspondence and controversy, and expecting, notwithstanding the disappointment at Marburg, some happier result from oral communication, that divine passed into Switzerland, and held a conference with the Zurichers. And though they distinctly laid down, as the substance of their doctrine, That the flesh of Christ was only eaten by faith; that Christ as man existed only in a particular place in heaven; that he was present in the Eucharist only by faith and sacramentally:

yet the mediator did not despair of reconciling, by the use of equivocal expressions, even those decided positions with the conflicting tenet of Luther.

But it proved otherwise: Luther addressed a letter to the senate of Frankfort,* in which he rejected such explanations, and clearly marked the distinction between the two doctrines. He went farther: he accused the Zwinglians, among whom he accounted Bucer, of a diabolical trifling with the words of Christ—when they said in one breath that the body and blood were really in the Eucharist, and yet that it was a spiritual, not a corporeal, presence. More than this: he declared that it was a holier act to abstain from the sacraments altogether than to receive them from the hand of a Zwinglian. The ministers of Frankfort replied, however, in the spirit, if not in the very expressions, of Bucer: that the faithful received the true body and blood for the nourishment of their souls; and that, though the bread and wine did not change their nature, the elements contained something more than mere bread and wine, even the sacrament of the true body and true blood, given by God as a spiritual aliment.

The above exposition wore the colour of Luther; and when Bucer soon afterwards appeared at Zurich, in May,

* In January or February, 1533. This letter is not in Wette's collection; but he mentions it as a "Weitläufiger Schrift." Another violent production of Luther's was an epistle to Albert Duke of Prussia, in 1532, exhorting him not to tolerate the Zwinglian doctrine in his dominions. On February 2, 1531, he had written to Hausman: "*Strasburgenses defecere ab Imperio ad Helvetios repugnaturi Carolo Cæsari; propheta fui qui semper dixi sacramentarium spiritum esse seditionis latentis plenum. Et nunc aperit et prodit se. Nisi Deus obsistat, dabunt nobis novum Munzerum . . .*" But the letter to Albert was the first breach of the faith plighted at Marburg, that both parties should abstain from farther controversy. The Zurichers of course replied, deprecating persecution.

1533, he was called upon to explain his explanation. He maintained that his own opinion was unchanged; but that he believed the difference to be in terms only, and the presence asserted by Luther to be at the bottom consistent with the tenet of Zwingle.*

The divines of Augsburg urged the same accusation against him; and he asserted in reply that the article in the confession, relating to that sacrament, might be reconciled with the doctrine of the Swiss. But those ministers, not thus satisfied, published a document, wherein they particularly distinguished the points on which they agreed with Luther from those on which they differed. They agreed: That there were in the Eucharist two things—the bread and the body of Christ, the wine and his blood; that these two were united sacramentally, because the body and blood were given in the sacrament; that through that sacramental union the sensible qualities of the bread might be ascribed to the body; that the Lord offered himself; and that the minister presented the body and

* Bucer was suspected of insincerity by Melancthon, as appears from a letter addressed at this time to Link: "*Facile potes suspicari quas ob causas simulet hanc concordiam Bucerus . . .*;" while Wolfgang Musculus, an ardent friend of Bucer, was dissuading him, for his own credit's sake, from the vain attempt to conciliate the Lutherans: "*Emori mallet, quam candorem tuum obscurari aliquo scandalo, non solum tuo, sed potissimum Evangelii nomine . . . Ah! Bucere, cave quæso Lutheranos, quorum spiritum ipsa proscindendi quoslibet libido, et pertinax adversus immeritos odium, satis prodit.*" And again: "*Lutherum mihi toties commendas. Utinam commendares illum sibi ipsi; aut is pertinacibus suis furiis commendationes tuas . . . elanguidas non redderet. . . Interea tamen quî possim non detestari tam pestilentis hominis furias, quibus non solum nos, sed hoc ipsum bonum quod habet tam insane turbat . . .*" Ap. Scultet. Ann. 1532. Amsdorf, on the opposite side, dissuaded Luther from any similar attempt, on the ground that there could be no real concord unless the Sacramentaries should openly retract their error.

blood when he pronounced the words and distributed the elements.

They disagreed on the following points, asserting—that no one received the body of Christ unless he were faithful, and a member of Christ's body; and that the manducation and presence consisted in the union of the nature of Christ in the soul, not in the oral and corporal manducation of Christ's body. But at the same time they proposed means of accommodation, and asserted the substantial identity of the two opinions.

Bucer persisted; and the Landgrave arranged that the conference between him and Melancthon should take place at Cassel, in his own presence, and under his especial mediation. Luther had encouraged that project,* and was far from indifferent to its result. On December 16th, 1534, he thus wrote to Justus Jonas:—"I could wish to confer with you and others before Philip departs for the conference. The paper, however, which I shall sign to-morrow, I shall sign on my own account (*pro mea fide*), and shall keep a copy, which I will show to you and to all. For I will not act alone in this cause, though I suspect that no sort of concord will be effected between them and us. Neither will Philip†

* See a letter of October, 1534, from Luther to the Landgrave, expressing his readiness to lay aside the doctrinal disputes about the Sacrament (No. 1605). Meanwhile the Catholics were endeavouring to confound the Sacramentaries with the Anabaptists. Ferdinand wrote to the Elector of Saxony in the August of this year from Prague—that Zwingle's heresy was daily growing, and that the evil required an immediate remedy; that the elector should therefore co-operate for the destruction of the Zwinglians in every part of the empire, &c. &c. . . . Ap. Scultet. Ann. 1534.

† The feelings of Melancthon are expressed in a letter to Erhard Sneppius, of September 16th, 1534:—"Hodie egi cum Luthero de Formula Concordiæ quam scis propositam esse a Bucero. Ait se eam probare, modo ut sic sentiat. Scis autem qualis illa formula fuerit. Confitetur, datis rebus illis Pane et Vino, vere et substantialiter adesse

consent to be the sole agent ; indeed it is a matter of too great weight to be borne by two or three men even of the highest authority, so that his journey will seemingly be altogether without effect. I cannot move from my opinion ; and though the world should tumble in fragments upon me. I shall not be terrified by the overthrow.”*

The conference which presently followed was such as might have been expected from these preliminaries. Bucer proposed a formula, which was intended to reconcile the whole difference : that we receive truly and substantially the Body and Blood when we receive that Sacrament ; that the bread and wine are exhibitivæ

Christum. Ego quidem nihil requirerem amplius. Sed tibi non fero leges. Tantum te oro, propter Christum ut cogites sananda esse potius quum exacerbeschenda hæc dissidia. Me non pœnitet mei consilii, quod hactenus ab his rixis fere omnino abstinui . . . His occasionebus utamur ad conciliandas ecclesias et sanandas mentes ambigentes.”

* This is the whole of the letter (No. 1613). It is followed by a “Bedenken,” dated the following day, containing instructions to Melancthon for his approaching conference. “This, in sum, is our doctrine :—Dass wahrhafter und mit dem Brod der Leib Christi gessen wird, alsodass aller, was das Brod wirket und leidet, das Leib Christi wirke und leide, das er ausgetheilt gessen und mit den zähnen zubissen werde.” A translation of this composition is given by Seckendorf. Lib. iii. p. 79. Ten days later he wrote again to Jonas :—“Ego quo plus cogito hoc fio alieniori animo erga istam concordiam desperatam, cum ipsi inter se sic variant.” And the same year he published his famous Confession on the same subject :—“I protest before God and the whole universe that I have no doubt but a certain assurance, in which, by the grace and aid of Christ, I will stand firm to the end of my days, that in the celebration of the mass, according to the institution of Christ . . . the true body of Christ is present under the appearance of bread, the same which suffered for us on the cross ; and also his true blood under the appearance of wine, the same which was poured out for the remission of our sins. And that that body and blood are not spiritual and fictitious, but that true and natural body which was conceived and born of the Most Holy Virgin. Which same body and blood are now sitting at the right hand of the Majesty of God, in that divine Person which is called Christ Jesus . . .”

signs, and that, in receiving them, we receive the body of Christ; that the body and the bread are united, not by mixture of substance, but by the sacramental operation. Melancthon declared that he was not dissatisfied with that exposition; but he declined to conclude any act of concord, till he should have consulted his colleagues. He consulted them; the answer was not unfavourable, and he reported to Bucer that his hopes increased; for that Luther was becoming more tractable, and assuming a more conciliatory tone in his treatment of the question.

The correspondence of Luther during the year 1535 does indeed furnish several proofs that his feelings on this subject were greatly softened, though his doctrines may have undergone no change. In a letter of July 20th to the ecclesiastics of Augsburg, he said, "In the whole course of these our evangelical labours, nothing has befallen me more delightful than that, after this sad dissension, I can at length look with hope, nay, with certainty, to a sincere concord. . . . Wherefore I beseech you, by Christ who has begun this his work in you, persist and persevere in this fruit of the Spirit, and embrace us with the arms and bowels of pure charity, even as we embrace you, and receive you in the bosom of earnest faith and concord. And be you firmly persuaded through Christ, that you can impose on us no condition which we will not cheerfully both do and suffer; no, nothing, if it be necessary for the confirmation of this concord. For when this is once concluded, then will I gladly sing and with tears of joy—'Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;' for I shall leave behind me peace to the churches. . . ."* In the

* "Ac vobis persuadete in Christo firmiter, nihil posse a vobis imponi nobis, quod pro ista concordia firmanda non sumus etiam hilariter et

beginning of October he addressed another letter to the same, written in the same tone: "There is nothing that I desire more ardently than to conclude this life of mine, which must end so soon, in peace, charity, and spiritual unity with you . . ."

He wrote to the preachers of Ulm and Strasburg in the same spirit; proposing that an amicable conference should be held, among a few of the leading divines, for the re-establishment of the union. And on the 27th of November he again expressed to the latter his ardent aspirations after concord:—"For to me, who am now hoary and decrepit, and full of years, and who have done all my business here, nothing is so near at heart as that this reconciliation may be established, so far as it is possible, before I fall asleep.* If the princes will co-operate, well; if not, yet I will endeavour to prevail on them at least to let us act, and to permit our conference, though I have better hopes of them, and especially of our own sovereign . . ."

Bucer, informed of these pacific dispositions in the quarter whence nothing but obstruction had hitherto proceeded, returned, in the beginning of 1536, to confer with the Swiss. But he found them not only firm in their doctrine, but little inclined to accept any of the ambiguous explanations which he suggested. The ministers assembled at Basle did indeed so far listen to him as to introduce into their new Confession a new form of expression regarding the disputed tenet; but it was scarcely less anti-Lutheran than that which they

facturi et passuri et si opus sit omnia. Nam firmata ista concordia gaudens et lacrymans suaviter cantabo: Nunc dimittis, Domine, servum tuum in pace, &c." (No. 1649.)

* "Nihil enim mihi nunc cano, decrepito et omnibus rebus defuncto et saturo magis in votis est, quam ut concordia ista, quantum fieri potest, ante meam dormitionem firmetur . . ." (No. 1684).

had ever held: "The body and blood are not physically united to the bread and wine; but the latter are the symbols by which Jesus Christ himself gives us a true communion of his body and blood, not to supply the belly with a perishable nourishment, but to be an aliment of eternal life." The ministers of Zurich, the sturdy disciples of Zwingli, refused to concede so much as a phrase, and republished a confession which they had before delivered to Francis I.

Nevertheless the conference, which had been proposed by Luther, took place—not at Eisenach, on May 14th, as had been appointed, but at Wittenberg, about ten days later: his continued sickness* was the cause of that change. There, after some discussion, the indefatigable importunity of Bucer at length prevailed. A form of union was composed by Melancthon, approved by Luther, accepted by the Sacramentarian Deputies, and signed by all the parties present.

It was expressed in six articles, to the following effect: that, according to the words of Irenæus, the Eucharist consisted in two things, the one earthly, the other celestial; consequently that the body and blood of Christ were truly and substantially present, given and received with the bread and wine. That, though the doctrine of transubstantiation was rejected, as well as the opinion that the body of Christ was locally enclosed in the bread, or had any permanent union with the bread beyond the sacramental usage, yet the bread was the body of Christ by a sacramental union; or, in other words, when the bread was presented, the body of

* "Ego hoc Paschate cum Christo resurrexi a morte; ita enim ægro-tavi, ut mihi persuaserim esse migrandum ad Christum Dominum nostrum, quod cupide expectabam et optabam; sed alia fuit voluntas in cælo, scilicet ut plus malorum videam, usque in foveam."—Luther to John Brisman, May 1, 1536.

Christ was altogether present and truly given. That when kept in the pyx, or carried in processions, according to the usage of the Papists, it was not the real body. That the effect of the Sacrament did not depend on the personal merits of him who gave, or of him who received it. That those who "ate unworthily," truly received the body and blood of Christ: but that they received it to their own damnation, because they abused the Sacrament through want of penitence and faith. On this convention it may be remarked that, on the one hand, there was no express mention of oral manducation; while, on the other, it was admitted that the body might be received, even without faith—the former being intended, perhaps, as a concession to the Swiss, the latter to the Lutherans.

This formula received the signatures of the ministers of the cities of High Germany, and was published on June 2d, 1536, to the great satisfaction of both parties.* It is known in history as the "Concord of Wittemberg;" and it marks an epoch in the life of Luther, which would have been more important had the results been more permanent. In years, indeed, he was not yet very far advanced; but his constitution was worn by continual anxiety and toil; and in his feelings, as well as his intellectual labours, he had lived a hundred lives. He was sensible of a premature decay; he even looked for the speedy termination of his existence, and had prayed for it as a blessed boon from Heaven—happy, if it was the effect of

* Frederic Myconius, in his narrative of this transaction, addressed to Vitus Theodoric, relates that Luther's joy was expressed by the resplendency of his eyes and whole countenance, as soon as he satisfied himself that the two parties present did really agree. "*Proruperunt lacrymæ,*" he continues, "*Capitoni et Bucero, et utrimque cancellatis manibus et gestibus piis Deo gratia egimus.*" Apud Seckend. lib. iii. sect. 15. § xlvii.

this decline to calm the irritability of his passions, and to allay that desperate pugnacity which, though it had often served his cause, had sometimes turned what might have been a friendly discussion into a burning feud—happier, had that peaceful mood continued, and had he carried with him the charitable spirit, which then warmed his bosom, unbroken to his grave !

Still the work was only half completed.* The Swiss were not parties to “The Concord.” They had declined to attend the conference; but they sent thither a confession of their faith. Luther examined it, and observed that, though it contained some objectionable expressions, he was ready to extend his paternal reconciliation to its authors, provided only they would subscribe to the articles of Wittemberg. The Helvetian divines refused, pleading the ambiguous obscurity of the doctrine contained in them. Bucer, with Capito, proceeded to Basle, in September, to attend an assembly of the Cantons, and again to urge the union. And on this occasion he defended, with his wonted ingenuity, his favourite position that the two doctrines were, in meaning, the same, and that the formula of Wittemberg expressed them both. The Swiss, though friendly, were not quite obsequious; and they proposed forthwith an elaborate

* In a letter to Justus Jonas, of June 7th, five days after the date of the Concord, Luther still only expressed hope:—“*Gaudeo Concordiæ spem tantam esse; sed cito aliud inveniet dissidium et facile rixosus et inquietus ille senex (Carlstadt) qui sicut Salamander vivit igne, ita ille vivit odiis et inquietudine sui et omnium . . . Libenter omnia de Landgraviu audivi; maxime quod princeps noster istos nostros concordatos, s. concordandos tam liberaliter et clementer tractavit.*” (No. 1719.) And in a letter to John Forster, of July 12th, he says—“*Expectamus jam responsum ecclesiarum et magistratuum illorum . . .*” There are letters from him to the senates of Strasburg and Augsburg (May 29th), to the preachers of Augsburg (Aug. 7th), and to the senate of Ulm (Nov. 14th), exhorting them to accept the Concord.

exposition of their opinions, which they sent in the November following to Luther. Meanwhile it should be remarked that these temperaments of Bucer occasioned some new suspicion as to the soundness of his own opinion; insomuch that at the conference of Smalcald, in the following year, he felt obliged to make a very explicit declaration of his belief in the real presence.

Luther once more reiterated,* though in a spirit and with expressions upon the whole conciliatory, his immovable adhesion to the literal interpretation of the Saviour's words—This is my Body. The Swiss again assembled at Zurich, in March, 1538, to deliberate on their reply, and Bucer and Capito again attended their assembly. The usual explanations were offered by these, and were, in the first instance, rejected, with more than usual decision, by the Swiss. With the express declarations of Luther in their hands, so frequently repeated and republished, without any equiv-

* On Dec. 1st, 1537: his professed object was to express his joy at the accession of the Swiss to the Concord of Wittemberg, supposed to have been sanctioned at Basle, on Nov. 12th, 1530. Luther, writing to Bucer, on Dec. 6th, 1537, on the same subject:—"Excuse this delay, for you know that all the cares of our church, as well as a number of causes, both very troublesome and very detestable, I might say detested, are imposed upon me, who am no better than a corpse, in itself sluggish and cold, and afflicted besides by disease and old age. . . . I do not like the Latin Confession of the Swiss quite so well as I do the German Confession of the cities, especially on the subject of the Sacrament of the Altar. . . ut qui scias mihi cadaveri præter morbos et senectutem per se pigro et frigido impositas esse curas ecclesiæ meæ et causas multas tum molestissimas, tum odibiles, ut ne odiosas dicam. ." On May 6th, 1538, in a letter to Albert, duke of Prussia, he wrote:—"Mit den Schweitzen, so bisher mit uns des Sacraments halben uncinst gewert, ists auf guter bahn Gots helfe forder; denn Basel, Strasburg, Augsburg und Bern sampt andern mehr sich sehr fein zu nur stellen; so nehmen wirs auch freundlich an, dass ich hoffe Gott wolle des aergernitz ein ende machen, nicht mit unser willen, die wirs nicht verdienen, sondern umb seines namens willen, und dem gräuel zu Rom zu verdriess. ."

cation, without any possibility of misconception, how should they not rather place faith in them than in the plausible glosses of another party? Let Luther change his opinion and embrace the truth, and so would they accept the Concord. They had never courted the mediation of the divines of Strasburg; they had sent to Luther more than once very clear expositions of their own faith; if he chose to accept them the reconciliation was already completed; at any rate they should adhere to them.

They were induced, however, to prolong the conference. After a more general disputation they descended to particular points—the literal or the metaphorical sense—the manner of Christ's bodily presence at the right hand of His Father and at the same time in the Sacrament, whether the latter were miraculous or not.* At length, as the contest grew warmer, and more involved, the Chancellor of Zurich, apprehending any other than an amicable termination, suddenly rose, and asked the Swiss divines, "Whether they believed that the body and blood of Christ were received in the Sacrament?" They replied in the affirmative. Then turning to Bucer and Capito—"And do you," he said, "acknowledge that the body and blood of Christ are received in the souls of the faithful by Faith and the

* In a letter written on Aug. 7th, 1539, against the Zwinglian error, to Francis von Rheva, Count of Thurn, Luther argues—That there was no reason why the body might not exist both in heaven and earth; that mysteries were essential to religion, as there could be no faith without them. "Not he that understands, but he that believes, will be saved. That would, indeed, be a very wretched God who should neither say nor do anything incredible to us; for thus we should have no articles of faith if we were to estimate Him by the measure of our reason. . . The words of God, 'This is my Body,' will not deceive. Your own reason and the wisdom of man are false, and deceive. . . Miserrimus sit ille Deus, qui non dicit aut facit quod nobis incredibile est. . ."

Spirit?"—"That is our belief and profession."—"To what purpose, then, is it that you have disputed for these three days?"

The result was this. The Swiss drew up a rejoinder to the letter of Luther, and read it in the assembly. It contained no compromise of their doctrine. On the contrary, they repeated their adherence to the Confession of Basle, and the explication of it afterwards published, and assumed, as a condition of concord, that these were approved by Luther. They even entered into some particulars, in order to make it the more clear that they were making no concession of the truth.

This communication was dated on the 4th of May, 1538. On the 9th of June Luther replied to them, in general terms, to the effect—that he was delighted to be assured of their anxiety to embrace the union, and their approbation of his paper; that, though there were still some among them whom he suspected, he was willing to tolerate them for the sake of peace and concord; and that he committed the interpretation of his doctrine to Bucer and Capito, with a fervent prayer to the Father of all Mercies, that it might please Him to confirm the work which He had begun through His beloved Son.

At that moment Luther was unquestionably disposed even to dissemble differences, and to accept, at some sacrifice of consistency, that sort of concord which he had formerly denounced as false and treacherous. His correspondence of that period is in the same spirit. About a month earlier he wrote to Henry Bullinger in the following strain:—

"I will speak freely to you. It was my opinion of Zwingle, after I had seen and heard him at Marburg, that he was an excellent man. I thought the same of Œcolampadius; so that the news of their death almost

overwhelmed me. . . . But this again hurt me, that you afterwards published, in your name, Zwingle's book to the King of France, and greatly extolled it . . . not that I am envious of the honour of Zwingle, whose death gave me such deep affliction, but because the sincerity of doctrine ought not to be disregarded for the sake of any man. I write this that you may see that I am acting with perfect candour, and without any secret malice. You probably think that we are in error. I commend that to the judgment of God; certainly we cannot approve all your opinions. . . . Yet is there nothing which could befall me before my death more delightful, than that, by God's grace, we might receive that spirit which would refresh my heart and soul in the Lord, by giving us one knowledge and one profession in Christ."*

Here are some expressions which an indulgent historian will readily accept as an atonement for that semi-barbarous exultation, which did really break forth from the writer, when he received the intelligence of Zwingle's death.† Yet, after all, the ground on which this reconciliation, if such it can be called, was placed, was not sound, nor likely to support it long. Had they at once proclaimed their difference—had they said, "Our opinions on this one point are at manifest variance, but we do not deem that point essential; the difference is indisputable, but it is not such as to preclude our co-operation against the common enemy; let us leave it to the judgment of God, and pray that He will pardon those in error; but let us tolerate each other, and forget in the thousand holy ties which unite us, the one

* "Nihil posset mihi lætius antè obitum contingere, quam si daretur tandem per gratiam Dei spiritus ille, quo cor et animam meam in Domino recrearet, ut unum saperemus et diceremus in Christo."—May 24th, 1538. (No. 1805.)

† Chapter xxxix.

subject for disunion"—then indeed their concord would have been permanent, and their league productive of much mutual advantage. It might never, perhaps, have brought them to the same altar and bound them in the same religious communion, though it offered the best prospect even of that consummation ; since a general alliance for great and good purposes invariably tends to the extinction of particular differences. But it would have secured their reciprocal confidence, and doubled the efficacy of their action. But the sort of shadowy truce, which was the purpose of the negotiations of Bucer, could not be permanent, because it was based in falsehood. Neither party had, in fact, compromised an iota of its doctrine ; both proclaimed and took pride in their constancy ; yet both consented to abide by explanations which they knew to be sophistical, and each pretended to interpret those explanations to its own advantage. Any spark would suffice to dissipate such a compact ; for it was not only founded on no fixed principle, but was in fact a violation of the acknowledged principle of the age, that any doctrinal difference was an insuperable bar to political co-operation between religious parties.

And so it proved. The Swiss on the one hand never formally ratified this "Concord." And Luther on the other presently threw off the garb of peace, and resumed his ancient character. He published a fresh and fierce, and, as far as we learn, entirely unprovoked attack upon the Zwinglians.* The others retaliated ; and at the very

* One Christopher Froschauer, a Swiss, had sent Luther a copy of the Swiss translation of the Bible by Leo Judæ ; and in return (August 31, 1543), he received the following discourteous, and even insulting reply : "Ich hab die Bibel . . empfangen und cuerthalben weiss ich euch guten dank. Aber weil es eine arbeit ist eurer Prediger, mit welchem ich, noch die Kirche Gotter, kein gemeinschaft haben kan, ist mir leid dass

close of his life, within a month from the hour of his departure, he expressed his joy in the continuance of the strife—"You tell me that the Swiss are writing furiously against me. I rejoice at it heartily. This was what I sought. This was what I wanted by that production of mine which has so offended them, that they should proclaim themselves by their own public testimony to be my enemies. This boon has been granted to my prayers, and, I repeat, I rejoice at it. Enough for me, who am of all men the most unfortunate, is that one beatitude of the Psalmist:—"Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsels of the Sacramentaries, nor stood in the way of the Cinglians; and hath not sat in the seat of the Zurichers!" *"

That Luther thought himself "of all men the most unfortunate"—that after accomplishing such great purposes by the success of his own exertions, with the fruits before his eyes, he sustained in his latest years the bitter-

sie so fast sollen umbsunst arbeiten, und doch dazu verloren seyn. Sie sind gnugsam vermahnet, dass sie sollen von ihrem irrthumb abstehen, und die arme leute nicht so jamerlich mit sich zu hellen führen. Aber da helft kein vermahnung, müssen si fahren lassen; darumb dorfft ihr mir nicht mehr schenken oder schicken, was sie machen oder arbeiten. Ich will ihrs verdammnitz und lästerliche lehre mich nicht theilhaftig, sondern unschuldig wissen, wider sie beten und lehren bis an mein ende. Gott bekehre docketliche und helf den armen Kirchen dass sie solcher falschen verführischen Prediger einmal los werden." Luther broke out again in the year following in his "*Brevis Confessio de Cœna Domini*,"—an "*atrocissimum scriptum*" even by the Confession of Melancthon.

* In a letter to Probst, January 17, 1546. His words are these:—"Quod scribis Helvetios in me tam efferventer scribere . . . valde gaudeo. Nam hoc petivi, hoc volui, illo meo Scripto, quo offensi sunt, ut testimonio publico suo testarentur, sese esse hostes meos. Hoc impetravi et, ut dixi, gaudeo. Mihi satis est, infelicissimo omnium hominum, una ista beatitudo Psalmi: Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio Sacramentarium, nec stetit in via Cinglianorum, nec sedet in Cathedra Tigrinorum."

ness of dissatisfaction, not only as yearning for a future and happier existence, but as burdened and disgusted with the present, does indeed supply a gloomy commentary on the condition of our common mortality. But as this despondency was doubtless in a great measure occasioned by the severity of his bodily sufferings, let us accept it as some excuse for this outbreak of polemical phrenzy, and overlook in his physical afflictions the sad infirmity of his spirit.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SWITZERLAND. ZURICH, BERNE, AND BASLE.

Edicts published in Berne and Zurich—for the improvement of morality—other places adopt the Reformation—disputes with the Catholics—treaty of Arau—observations on some of the articles—question as to the degree of uniformity essential among the Reformers—their judicious determination—further disputes with the Papists—interdiction of commercial intercourse—against the advice of Zwingle—further negotiations—Zwingle tenders his resignation, which is not accepted—the Catholics take up arms—publish two manifestos—and march against Zurich—battle of Cappel—circumstances of the death of Zwingle—whose body is subsequently tried, condemned, and burnt—remarks on his talents and character—the Reformers are again defeated near Zug—Zurich, after another defeat, signs a separate treaty—and Berne soon afterwards follows her example—the terms dishonourable to the parties—and fatal to the further progress of the Reformation among the German cantons—Zwingle succeeded in his church by Henry Bullinger—in his chair by Bibliander—remark of Pellican, *note*—death of Œcolampadius—circumstances—succeeded by Oswald Myconius, of Lucerne.

No sooner was the Reformation established in the principal cantons and cities of German Switzerland, than they applied themselves with ardour, both to secure their work within, and to strengthen and enlarge it without. The civil authorities, having once assumed the control over spiritual matters, and deprived the church of what the clergy called its independence, the laity its despotism, continued to exercise with some severity their restored, or usurped, functions. The magistrates of Zurich prohibited their subjects from attending mass, even in places situated beyond their own boundaries. Those of Berne published an edict (on August 8, 1529), for the punish-

ment of any who should speak unfavourably of the recent changes; and also for better attendance at the evangelical services on the part of some, who secretly disliked them. Three months afterwards the latter issued a new decree against the practice of chiming the Ave Maria:—

“ Seeing that we are bound to conduct our subjects, so far as grace is given us, to the true religion, as by God’s ordinance we are in authority over them; and seeing that, through indulgence to the weak in faith, we have hitherto tolerated certain outward ceremonies, with a view to their gradual extinction: for these reasons, and for the avoiding of all scandal, we do hereby abolish the present usage of chiming the Ave Maria, morning and evening. For it is not meet that a christian man should offer up his prayers in any other manner than that which Jesus Christ, our sovereign Teacher, the eternal wisdom of God, hath appointed.”

These were arbitrary proceedings. But, as the popular feeling ran strongly in the same direction, it does not appear that they occasioned any acts of insubordination.

The same two cantons afforded at the same time another evidence of the spirit by which they were guided. They took measures to associate the purification of morality with their religious changes, and to set the sacred seal of practical obedience on the sincerity of their faith. The one prohibited by edict the masquerades of the carnival, and other festivities, tending to debauchery. The other issued a general proclamation against drunkenness and blasphemy. The fierce invectives, which Erasmus had so lately published against the lives of the Reformers, were probably exaggerated, if not entirely unfounded. But, even if it were otherwise, the corruption must be ascribed to the temporary relaxation sometimes prevailing in moments of popular excitement, certainly neither

to the principles of the Reformation, nor to the connivence or indifference of the men who directed it. And, in further proof of this we find it recorded, that during the same year the government of Berne published a liturgy, and a book of uniformity for the celebration of the two sacraments, and other services; while it established a consistory for the regulation of ecclesiastical details and the general superintendence over the morality of the clergy and people.

The example of the two most powerful cantons in Switzerland was not ineffectual. Under their auspices Schaffhausen, St. Gal, Glarus, Bienne, Thurgau, Bremgarten, Tockenbourg, Wesen, and other places of less consideration, were entirely or partially reformed—in some instances through the spontaneous, unassisted zeal of the inhabitants, in others, through the direct interference of Berne and Zurich. On the other hand, the Catholics were vigilant and active, and clung together only the more closely through the pressure and increase of the danger. Five cantons remained firm in their fidelity to the church—Lucerne, Zug, Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden. These formed without delay a religious alliance, which was supported by Ferdinand of Austria; and some among them were not sparing, either in the insults that they offered to the doctrines and persons of the Reformers, or in their exertions to repress the further progress of the evil.*

Through these and other causes some troubles arose,

* Certain Zurichers having travelled to Schweitz, for the recovery of some debts, were severely beaten. This may have been a casual outrage—but soon afterwards a reformed minister was burnt, also at Schweitz. This was Kayser, surnamed Schlosser, a native of the canton of Zurich. He was regularly tried, condemned, and executed, in defiance of the remonstrances both of Zurich and Glarus, on no other pretence than that he was an Evangelical minister. This took place on May 29, 1529.

which, as early as 1529, threatened war; and the utmost exertions of the neutral cantons were scarcely sufficient to prevent it. The Catholics on the one side, and the Zurichers on the other, were pressing to the same termination—to which indeed abundant paths were opened by the perpetual collision both of civil and political interests, as well as by religious rivalry. However, the moderate party for the moment prevailed, and a treaty was concluded at Arau, on June 26, 1529, which suspended the storm.

It contained eighteen articles, of which the first and most important was to the following effect: That, as faith was not a matter of compulsion, the five cantons should not be constrained to embrace the word of God; that those, who had already abolished the mass and destroyed the images, should enjoy perfect impunity; but that they should not intrude their ministers into any parish to which they were not invited by a majority of the inhabitants—seeing that this question should be decided in each instance by the majority. By other articles it was stipulated that no violence, nor injurious language, should be employed by either party in their religious differences, and that all past grievances should be forgotten. And in the third, while the five cantons were exhorted to renounce, for the common good of their country, the services, pensions, and presents of kings and princes, it was provided, under severe penalties, that they should not recruit among the subjects of the six cities,* which condemned the mercenary practice. Here we again perceive how closely the object of national regeneration was connected with the religious insurrection of the Swiss; and how obstinately the adherents of the old ecclesiastical system clung to the great political abuse and scandal of their country.

* Zurich, Berne, Basle, St. Gal, Muhlhausen, and Bienne.

But there is another remark, not favourable to the consistency of the Reformers, which is suggested by a provision in the first article. In the general Diet of Switzerland, as well as at Spire, and other imperial Diets, they had strenuously insisted that the minority would not submit in matters of faith to the decision of the more numerous party; and they placed this claim of religious independence on the highest principle, and defended it by the universal plea of conscience. Such was the profession of the chiefs of the Reformation, in treating with the more powerful faction of the princes and nobles opposed to them. But in dealing with the people, of whom the mass was probably disposed to favour their doctrines, they established the contrary principle. In the spiritual concerns of the several parishes, it was the majority which was to determine the choice of the minister, and the form of worship; and at its will the smaller number was to be at once deprived of all, that it might deem most sacred in its worship, and most essential to its salvation.

Yet the stipulations of this treaty were upon the whole reasonable, and, when we consider that the greater show of physical strength was on the opposite side,* not unfavourable to the Catholics. But it gave satisfaction to neither party. The passions of both were too highly heated to subside so easily, and on terms so nearly equal. The one could not yet force itself to tolerate the new opinions, flourishing in defiance of authority and prescription and the venerable usages of antiquity. The other was too much elated by the rapidity of its triumphs to despair of universal conquest. The same feuds which

* Zwingle is related to have expressed some regret that it was not turned to a more efficient purpose. Then, it seems, he would have employed it for the overthrow of the papists. See Ruchat. Hist. Reform. en Suisse. Tom. ii. Liv. 6. p. 428.

had raged before the peace, continued after it ; the same exertions were made on either side to extend what had been achieved, or to recover what had been lost. The strife was still in its full rancour, and it had other stages to pass through, before it could be permanently appeased. The Catholics never for a moment acknowledged the independence claimed by the minority in the resolutions of the Diet. And when the Reformers replied, that they confined their claim to spiritual concerns, the others at once rejected that new principle, which established a distinction between religious and civil obedience, and altogether denied the rights, as they were beginning to be called, of conscience. And, besides this principal matter of contention, which involved one of the fundamental positions of the innovators, a thousand local jealousies and controversies were rising up day by day from a multitude of collateral causes, and from none more perpetually than the dissolution of the monastic and cathedral establishments, and the perversion of their resources to other, and not always sacred, purposes.

Meanwhile the Reformers, who were far less compact and organised than their five antagonists, and whose danger lay in that inferiority, adopted a very judicious method to obviate, in part at least, that evil. It was made a question among them, whether a perfect uniformity in rites and doctrines were essential to perfect concord and co-operation. The deputies of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and St. Gal, assembled at Basle in February, 1531, to discuss that subject; and the prudent resolution at which they arrived was confirmed at a larger conference in the ensuing month at Zurich. It was there agreed :—That every church should adopt the ceremonies which might best suit its circumstances, directing its own schools, and regulating other local particulars according to its own discretion : and that any

division or difficulty that might arise, on the subject of doctrine or the religious offices, should be submitted to the final determination of a provincial synod of the reformed churches.

Early in the following April, at a general Diet, the disputes were renewed with more than their former violence. It was in vain that the cantons of Glarus, Friburg, and Soleurre, professing neutrality, interposed their mediation. The Zurichers were importunate in their complaints and denunciations, and even called for a direct appeal to arms. The men of Berne were more temperate, though not less firm. At length, together with their allies of Basle and St. Gal, they determined, as a milder demonstration of hostility, to interdict all commercial intercourse with the five cantons. And this resolution, which was published in May, infringing in no respect on the treaty of 1529.

It must here be mentioned that Zwingli expressed his decided opposition to these measures. Doubtless he too maintained that just principle, so constantly asserted by Luther, that the cause of reason and of truth, when contending with prescriptive oppression, has no enemy so dangerous as the sword. He even ascended the pulpit and preached against the publication of the interdict. He argued, that the insulting slanders of the papists ought to be endured with christian forbearance; that an example of that great evangelical virtue was especially required from those who professed the gospel. But his fellow-citizens closed their ears for once against his admonitions, and hastened whither their inauspicious passion led them.

On June 14, another Diet was held at Bremgarten, which only exasperated the animosities. One party demanded that the free preaching of the Word of God should be permitted everywhere; the other, that the

interdict should be removed without any delay. The mediators renewed their exertions, assisted indeed on this occasion by the friendly offices of the ambassador of Francis, but with no effect. At another conference, on July 11, their persuasions were equally fruitless; and though they treated with all the cantons separately and privately, as well as at the public assemblies, and exhausted all the expedients that prudence and humanity so readily suggest to the spectators of a religious broil, yet were they unable to advance the parties a single step towards reconciliation.

Zwingle was anxious and discontented. His enemies took courage, and beset and tormented him—enemies not political only, but likewise religious; for even at Zurich were many false Reformers whose hearts still clung to the hereditary despotism. His schemes were thwarted, his actions misrepresented, his motives suspected. He presented himself on July 26 before the great council, and requested permission to retire from his office. With tears in his eyes he represented that he saw some great calamity impending over his countrymen, and that he had suffered some wrong at their hands; since, after rejecting his counsels and scorning his admonitions, they imputed to him all the mischief which had already befallen them, and that, besides, which was so soon to come.* The magistrates were dismayed. Immediately they sent to him a deputation of honour, and

* A few days later, on August 6, a comet appeared in the heavens, and was visible for some weeks. This prodigy was variously interpreted. In France it portended the death of Louise of Savoy, the queen mother. To Zwingle it was the harbinger of the evils overhanging his city and himself. George Müller, abbot of Wittengen, asked him to interpret it. He replied:—"It will be fatal to me and many honourable persons. The truth and the church will be in affliction. But the Lord will not forsake us. I place all my confidence in God, for He is faithful and just; but I put as little trust as possible in man."

entreated him, not at least at that crisis of their affairs to forsake them; and Zwingli consented, after three days of painful deliberation, to retain his post.

Conferences professing pacific objects were still held at Bremgarten. Zwingli, attended by two ecclesiastics, repaired thither secretly, in the hope that by his presence he might influence his evangelical brethren to greater moderation. He represented to them all the evils occasioned by the interdict, and the fatal catastrophe in which it would unavoidably terminate. But they heard him not. And when he perceived the inefficacy of his counsels, he took a mournful leave of Bullinger, the pastor of the place, and commended to his charge the tottering church of Christ.

During the whole course of these negotiations the Catholic cantons were at least as intractable and warlike as their opponents. Indeed the final proposals of the mediators would probably have been accepted by the latter, while they were decidedly rejected by the papal party. Matters were now so much involved that there was no solution of the quarrel, except by the sword. The Catholics were the first in arms. They were united by a single spirit for a single object, and they resolved and acted with the force imparted by such unity. The Reformers were not so closely banded. They exercised, on the contrary, a sort of independence, both in thought and action, which, though far removed from disunion, yet greatly paralysed their exertions. And even the honest intercessions of the mediators served, in some measure, to promote this laxity of co-operation, while it failed to shake in any way the firm confederacy of the Catholics. Affairs were in this position in the beginning of October (1531), when the Five Cantons, perceiving their advantage, declared war, not against the body of the Reformers, but against Zurich only.

At the same time they published two manifestos, in which they argued that the interdiction of commerce was a violation of the former treaty; and, while they disclaimed any intention of molesting the Zurichers in the exercise of their religion, expressed their resolution to maintain their own in all its purity in their own States, and to exclude the books and doctrines of Zwingli and his companions. The ostensible grievance was the interdict; and it is very probable that, had the Zurichers withdrawn this measure, which was especially vexatious to the smaller cantons, the war, if not avoided, would have been deferred; and the principles of the Reformation made still further progress by the same peaceful means, which had carried them in so short a time so far. Doubtless the Reformers had committed an indiscretion, if it were not worse, and they were speedily called upon to atone for it.

The Catholics marched in considerable force against Zurich; and it singularly proved that the city, which had clamoured most loudly for the war and adopted the strongest measures to provoke it, was found, when the visitation really came, the least prepared to meet it. The citizens of Berne, though not directly menaced, were in readiness, with an organised army, to support their allies; but the Zurichers, with the enemy almost at their gates, exhibited only negligence and indecision.

The result is known to every one. On the 11th of October, a tumultuous affair took place at Cappel, at the distance of only three leagues from Zurich, in which the Zurichers, through consternation, through inferiority in numbers, through want of subordination and discipline, were completely routed, with no inconsiderable loss both of life and reputation. But this might have been repaired. The loss which could not so well be

replaced was that of Zwingle. In the morning of that fatal day, when the civic banner was put in motion against the invaders, Zwingle received the order of the magistrates to march along with them under it. He would willingly have declined the service; for, though gifted with much personal courage, he had evil forebodings as to the issue of that expedition. But the others insisted: it was an immemorial usage that the sovereign banner should be attended by the first pastor of the city; the counsels of Zwingle were at that crisis peculiarly necessary to the chiefs; his exhortations would be efficacious with the people; by his eloquence and credit he would be serviceable in any negotiations that might arise for the restoration of peace. Zwingle yielded, not to the weight of the arguments, but to the authority which urged them, and to a sense of what so many would deem his duty. But in the hasty march which followed, it was observed that he talked and acted like one advancing to the grave; and those who remarked his gestures perceived that he was oftentimes absorbed in prayer, fervently recommending his soul and his cause to the protection of his Omnipotent Master.

But when the danger came, he displayed a martyr's heroism. "I will advance in the name of the Lord"—thus he addressed some of his wavering companions—"In the name of the Lord I will advance to the succour of my brave comrades, resolved to die with them and among them, or to effect their deliverance." And in the fury of the unequal and hopeless strife which ensued, his armed hand was seen raised in battle, and the voice with which he rallied the fugitives was heard above all the uproar.—"Be of good courage and fear nothing. If we are to suffer, our cause is not the worse for that. Commend yourselves to God, who can protect us and ours."

When the field was in possession of the Catholics, they went round to the wounded Zurichers, severally asking them, Whether they were willing to invoke the Saints, and to confess? The few who accepted the condition were spared; but by far the greater number rejected it, and most of these were massacred. Among those unfortunate men was one, whose hands and eyes were continually raised to heaven, as if to second the supplications expressed by the silent movement of his lips. Some soldiers put the interrogation to him. He merely shook his head in sign of refusal. They replied, "If you cannot speak, so as to confess, invoke at least the Mother of God, and the other Saints, for their intercession." He persisted. "This man, too, is an obstinate heretic"—whereupon an officer, who came up at that moment, thrust a pike into his throat and extinguished what remained of life.

This man was Zwingli. Wounded and thrice overthrown in the press of the fugitives, he again raised himself on his knees, and in that position was heard to exclaim, and it was his last exclamation—"Alas! what a calamity is this! Well, they can kill the body, but not the soul." It was not till the morrow that he was recognised among the heaps of slain, and it was then that the full hatred of the enemy broke out against him—hatred, not occasioned by his religious innovations only, but even more by his exertions against the lucrative system of foreign pensions. After offering many indignities to his corpse, as it lay on the battle-field, they held the mockery of a council, and summoned it before them: and then, when they had passed on it the double sentence of treason and heresy, they carried it to the place of most resort, and by the hand of the public executioner of Lucerne applied the flames which consumed it.

It is further related that they mixed ordure with the

ashes, in order to desecrate them in the imagination of any very zealous disciples; that those disciples did offer, nevertheless, their passionate adoration, and divided amongst them his heart, which had been found entire (they said) and inviolate.* But these and other similar legends are not wholly contemptible, if they prove no more than the affection and reverence which attended, with almost superstitious homage, the memory of Zwingle.†

He died in the vigour of life, in the maturity of his understanding, and the fulness of his learning; and by a violent fate the hopes of many years of informed and industrious piety were extinguished. And when we regard the many ingenious and elaborate compositions, polemical, exegetical, hermeneutical, which he produced in scarcely more than twelve years,—years, too, distracted by a thousand other cares and occupations—and which will remain an everlasting memorial of an extensive erudition, a sound judgment, a temper, upon the whole, candid and charitable, a calm, considerate, earnest faith;

* One Thomas Platter is said to have carried home to Basle a fragment of Zwingle's heart, and to have shown it to Myconius: but the latter, fearing lest it should be turned to superstitious uses, snatched it from his hands, and cast it into the Rhine.

† His epitaph was written by his ancient master, Lupulus, and is only remarkable as confirming the story of the burning of his body by the Catholics:—

“ *Helvætiæ Zwingli Doctor pastorque celebris
Undena Octobris passus in æthra volat,
Cum grege commisso pugnans cum fertur in hostem
Pro Patria, Christo, Religione, Fide.
Sic sua scripturis testatur consona sacris
Dogmata, cum fuso sanguine firma probat.
Dumque viri famam combusto corpore functi
Obscurare putat, promovet hostis atrox;
Nam qui clarus erat vivens jam mortuus amplo
Clarior æternum nomen in orbe tenet.*”

it is a matter for serious sorrow, even now, that he was cut off thus unseasonably. The more so, as he suffered for the rashness of others and paid the penalty of those intemperate proceedings, which he condemned, and of which he foresaw and foretold the consequences.

Together with several just and profound views of scriptural interpretation, his works contain many noble sentiments, flowing from an enlarged and elevated spirit. Gifted with much penetration, incited by an honest zeal, regulated by consummate prudence, firm, considerate, and forbearing, he did not stain these great qualities by a single bad fault. He could not command, indeed, like Luther; he had not that free, audacious vehemence, that temerity, sometimes reckless, sometimes calculated, by which men of genius make themselves despots. Had this been otherwise, doubtless he would have prevented those perverse events, to which he fell neither a blind nor a willing sacrifice. It was a far more limited authority that he exercised over his adherents, and his very discretion may have been the cause of this. Those results, which the world calls great, are seldom achieved by men of moderation. It is another description of praise that belongs to Zwingli—that he pursued with constancy and fearlessness the dictates of his religion* and his patriotism; that he showed great sagacity in accomplishing his purposes; that he was never guided, either in his

* Zwingli has been censured for an opinion on one occasion expressed by him—that salvation might be obtained without faith, as in the case of infants, or of the Gentiles; and that those alone were consigned to certain condemnation who had heard the reasons on which faith is founded and rejected them. “*Nihil enim vetat quominus inter gentes quoque Deus sibi deligat qui sese revereantur, qui observent, ut post fata illi jungantur; libera enim est electio ejus. Sed hæc monuisse verbo sufficiat.*” *Anannema de Providentia Dei* dedicated to Philip of Hesse. Ap. Gerdes, T. ii. p. 400. Luther in his *Prælectiones* on Genesis strongly repudiated the notion.

acts or in his writings, by any factious spirit; that he was never suspected of any unworthy motive; that he preserved to the very end the dignified consistency of his character, and left to his immediate successors, and to all posterity, the model of an unblemished reputation.

The Reformers, with the Bernese at their head, immediately rallied from all quarters for the support of Zurich. Their combined forces were very formidable—more numerous than their antagonists, and at least as warlike. Accordingly, they assumed the offensive, and invaded the canton of Zug. But their recent reverse had not inspired them with any distrust in themselves, or any respect for their enemy. In the perversity of a groundless confidence they neglected the most ordinary precautions. They combined no plan of operations. They established no subordination, either among the confederate cantons, or even among the soldiers of the several contingents. Disunion and indiscipline presided in their camp. Presently the Catholics, a compact and orderly body, perceived their advantage. On the night of October 23rd, guided by a brilliant moon, they surprised a hostile detachment near the Mount of Zug. They had taken the precaution of drawing white shirts or frocks over their armour, the better to distinguish friend from foe during the confusion of a night battle. The victory was easy and complete; and the Reformers again fled in consternation before the sword which they had provoked.

These successes, as they far surpassed the expectation of the victors, filled them with religious confidence. They inferred from them the holiness of their cause. They ascribed them to the immediate influence of the insulted Virgin, and of the congregation of the saints. A chapel was erected on the field of the last encounter, and dedicated to St. Severinus, the patron of the day.

Processions were instituted for the souls of those who had fallen in defence of the true hereditary faith. And those very portions of the Papal worship, which the Protestants had rejected, became now doubly venerable, as having been especially vindicated by the manifest interposition of the God of Battles.

Negotiations were then renewed under the former auspices. But, as no suspension of arms had been stipulated, the Catholics, who exhibited throughout the whole of this affair far more spirit and activity than their adversaries, made another attack (on November 6th and 7th) upon the Zurichers, and again achieved an easy and decisive advantage. Those reformers now became as timid as they had lately been insolent: numerous little jealousies, hitherto suppressed, broke out among them: many pretenders to evangelical zeal betrayed their insincerity. The inhabitants of the country, who had been the principal sufferers by the incursions of the enemy, began to treat independently of the Government; there was no space for doubt or deliberation. And thus Zurich entered precipitately into a separate treaty, and accepted,* with scarcely a struggle, the conditions prescribed by the victors.

The conditions were dishonourable to Zurich; yet, perhaps, more moderate than she had any right to expect. In the first article the Roman Catholic religion was designated as "the ancient, true, and indubitable Christian faith," while that of the Reformers was contemptuously styled "the new religion." By another, the contracting canton was obliged to abandon many of her confederates to the mercy of the Catholics, or, as she called it, to the protection of Berne, such as Bremgarten, Millingen, and others. Yet it is important to observe

* On November 16, 1531.

that the principle on which the religious difference was treated was that of mutual toleration. Either party acknowledged a perfect right in the other to maintain its own opinions; and either admitted the wrong of interfering with the religious concerns of the other. By this equitable arrangement, however, the Reformers were practically the sufferers; as they had obtruded their doctrines upon the Catholic cantons with far greater importunity, than the others had exerted for the restoration of ecclesiastical obedience among them.

No sooner was this convention concluded than the five cantons turned their forces, on the very following day, against the Bernese. Some slight skirmishes took place, apparently to the advantage of the latter; but as they needed peace, and were deserted by their principal ally, they listened to the mediators with a very willing ear, and subscribed (on November 23rd) to nearly the same terms which had been imposed on Zurich. These treaties possess great historical importance, as they not only set at rest the dissensions of the moment, but affixed a permanent boundary to the Reformation of German Switzerland. And their conditions continued in force till the year 1712, when the two great cantons waged war with better success, and annulled the monument of their ancient humiliation.

Zurich had deserved her disgrace. In defiance of the admonitions of the best and wisest of her citizens, she had provoked the war; she had appealed to that irrational arbiter, which so commonly condemns the better cause; she had committed her evangelical profession to the judgment of the sword. In the conduct, too, of her ill-starred enterprise, she exhibited every form of incapacity. Commencing in rashness, she descended through indiscretion, disunion, insubordination, to a timid and almost treacherous abandonment of her allies. Berne was more cautious

in her conduct, and more moderate in her expectations : in fact she followed with some reluctance her more impetuous colleague. Still, she suffered the consequences, and shared the shame.

On the other hand the Catholics gave loose to an unbounded exultation—not in Switzerland alone, where rustic shrines and altars were erected, and processions performed in celebration of this great triumph of the sacred cause—but in distant countries, and in the courts of kings. Even in the pontifical city the success of the five cantons was solemnised, as a mighty religious achievement, by public exhibitions of joy ; and Charles himself did not disdain to present his congratulations to the victorious party.

The consequences of these reverses were not, however, so fatal as was at first expected. Several unimportant places, not within the jurisdiction of the reformed cantons, were, indeed, recovered by the church. Rapperschwyl, Mellingen, Bremgarten, and some others, which had embraced the Reformation, returned after a faint struggle to their ancient allegiance. Some abbeys were restored. Some exiled monks resumed the vocations which they had forsaken. The mass and the images were in a few places re-established ; and in all, the malcontents, the insincere conformers to the new system, for they existed in all, made some efforts, open or secret, to restore the ancestral institutions. But this was all. At Berne and Zurich such attempts were instantly repressed, and the Reformation re-occupied its former position ; its domestic enemies were crushed, and those who would willingly have aided them from without were restrained by the very treaty which they had dictated themselves. The principles were too generally spread to be in any danger of extirpation. And in the diets which followed we observe the government of Berne

speaking in its usual lofty tone, and extending its protection, so far as political obligations permitted, to the Reformers of other cantons.

But the advantage which the Catholics really derived from their triumphs was this, that they stopped the progress of the Reformation. The popular cause, which might have advanced in peace, was arrested, and permanently arrested, by unsuccessful war. The opposing chiefs were now compromised to their several opinions, and the compromise had been sealed in blood; the disputants had joined battle against each other, and fallen by each other's hands. The hope of uniting them by conviction in the same doctrines was thus weakened, if not extinguished—at least it was scarcely possible that the doctrines of the defeated party should become universally predominant. The vulgar judge by the event. Unable to discriminate the truth or falsehood of a religious dogma, they can readily understand the result of a battle; and, when it is fought on religious grounds, they naturally imagine that the God, who is alone infallible, will protect His own cause. A sincere partisan will not indeed be converted by a military disaster; but he will find it difficult, however clear his arguments, to convert the party which has overthrown him. And thus in effect it proved. The campaign of 1531 decided the limits of the old and new doctrines, among the cantons engaged in it, and no important change has been wrought among them, in either direction, from that day unto this.

The loss of Zwingli was serious; and, had it happened seven years earlier, might have been fatal to his cause. But when the temple is once erected by the Master Architect, less power and intelligence will suffice to preserve and strengthen it. It is said that on his departure for Cappel, in the prescience of his impending

death, he designated his successor in his church, and that his wish was obeyed. Two ministers, named Bullinger, a father and son, had for some time preached the Gospel at Bremgarten with considerable success. When, after the peace of 1531, the Catholic influence prevailed there, they were expelled and fled for refuge to Zurich. Henry, the son, preached there: his eloquence was so much admired, and his various virtues so soon manifested, that he was appointed, after a very short interval, to the pulpit of Zwingle; and he filled it for forty laborious* years with undisputed distinction.

The same calamitous autumn inflicted still another severe wound on the Swiss Reformation. *Ceolampadius* had for some time suffered great debility. A constitution naturally infirm was worn out, at the age of forty-nine, by anxiety and toil. The unexpected fate of Zwingle is believed to have dealt the final blow. And then, when he perceived that his own departure was near at hand, he assembled his friends and colleagues around him, and addressed them to the following effect:—

“My beloved Brethren,—You see to what I am reduced. The Lord is at the door, and will presently lead me away. Wherefore I have desired to behold you yet once more, that I may refresh my soul along with you in the true joy of the Lord. Yet what can I address to you, who are faithful ministers of Christ Jesus, and unite so closely the charity with the doctrine of the

* Great numbers of his voluminous compositions are extant. Zwingle held, together with his church, the office of Professor of Theology, which, on his death, was bestowed upon Theodore Buchman, or Bibliander, a young man of much literary and scientific accomplishment. It was this division of offices which led Conrad Pellican, without intending any disrespect to Zwingle, to say, “That, through the grace and mercy of God, the church of Zurich had been doubly repaid for the loss of Zwingle, as it had in consequence obtained separate teachers of doctrine and of conduct, to its great advantage.”

Gospel? Since Christ has indeed assured us of our salvation, and afforded light to guide our steps, let us cast far away from us all sadness and all fear about life or death, all uncertainty, and all doubt. Let us march with constancy and firmness in the steps of Christ, who is the way into which we have long since entered, first through the purity of our doctrine, then through a conduct in conformity with that doctrine. So will the Lord Jesus, who is powerful and watchful over us, take it upon himself to perform the rest, and preserve His Church.

“Wherefore, beloved Brethren, let your light so shine before men that your Father which is in Heaven may be glorified, and the illustrious cause of Christ become more resplendent through the light of your purity. To this end, bear ye love one to another,* and so regulate your lives, as if you were continually standing before the face of God; for it is in vain to paint an eloquent representation of piety, unless one live at the same time a life of piety. If we would overthrow the domination of the devil, and convert the world to Christ, we must first receive the spirit of God in our hearts. Storms and tempests are rising on every side, and dissensions among men, and overruling impiety. Wherefore there is the greater occasion for firmness and perseverance, even to the end. The Lord will not forsake His own interests. Oh, that I, too, could take my share in those troubles, and lay down my life often for the truth! But I can do so; for love is indivisible and an indissoluble bond in Christ, and every thing is in common among the righteous. . . .”†

* Well might Melchior Adam describe Œcolampadius as “ingenio miti et tranquillo, pacis et concordie studiosissimus.”

† “O si si pericula una subire, hanc animam pro veritate sæpe effundere liceat! Sed licet; indivisus amor est et indissolubile in Christo

These last words possibly contain an allusion to the violent martyrdom of Zwingli. The peaceful apostle of Basle may have admired, even in his last moments, the more glorious fate of his fellow-labourer in Christ. Assuredly the contrast was most singular—that, of two men, born almost in the same year, who had prosecuted the same studies, and taught the same doctrine to the neighbouring churches over which they presided, and who died almost at the same time and on the same spot, the one should render up his life in the bosom of his friends and family,* amidst every domestic consolation, on the bed of repose, pouring forth, in his last accents, the most affecting exhortations to Christian love, charity, and concord; while the other perished painfully, by repeated wounds, in the bleeding battle-field, regarding, with his last looks, the rout, the massacre, and the shame of his compatriots and disciples. Yet, surely, there could be nothing in a fate like that, to awaken in any Christian soul any other emotions, than those of commiseration and pure sorrow.

Œcolampadius died on November 23d, the day on which the treaty of Berne was concluded. He was succeeded in

vinculum, communia piis omnia inter se.” Ap. Scultet. ann. 1531. This was the death, about which Luther, two years afterwards, declared,—“ That in his belief Œcolampadius had perished by a sudden visitation, pierced by the fiery darts and spears of Satan! Se credere Œcolampadium, ignitis Satanæ telis et hastis confossum, subitanea morte periisse.” Ibidem.

* Œcolampadius left three very young daughters, named Eusebia, Eirene, and Alethea. He caused them to be brought to him, and, placing his hands on their heads, exhorted them to love God. Then he turned to their mother and said, “ Be careful so to bring up these children that they may live in conformity with their names, in piety, in peace, and in truth.” These particulars of the last hours of this holy man were published by Simon Grynæus, one of his colleagues, who, together with nine other ministers, remained with him to the moment of his death.

his church by Oswald Myconius, who had been much distinguished by repeated, though unavailing, attempts to establish the Reformation at Lucerne.* He was a man of learning and piety; and his integrity had been proved by reverses and dangers and exile deliberately incurred and patiently endured in the cause which he deemed righteous.†

* By one of the edicts published against him, he was commanded not only not to read the books of Luther to his pupils (for he was a school-master) but not to name them, nor so much as to think of them—"imo ne mentem eum admitterem."

† Erasmus, writing to Melancthon from Basle, on Sept. 6th, 1524, expressed the following opinions respecting the Reformers, and the Reformation of Switzerland:—"Æcolampadius is rather more moderate than the rest, and yet are there some respects in which he, too, is deficient in evangelical sincerity. Zwingle carries matters with much violence. These men neither agree with you nor with each other. . . . You teach that those are wrong who cast out images as things impious. And what commotions Zwingle has raised for their destruction! You teach that vestments are matters indifferent: here many declare that the surplice must be cast away altogether. You teach that bishops and their statutes may be endured, unless they force men to impiety: these men teach that all their statutes are impious. What can be more insane than all this . . . ? When I offered a friendly admonition to Zwingle, he answered with no little pride, 'What you know does not serve us; what we know does not suit you.' . . ."

CHAPTER XLIV.

SWITZERLAND. GENEVA AND LAUSANNE.

Greater civilization prevalent in German than in French Switzerland—the former first receives the Reformation—condition of Geneva—power of the bishop—attempts of the Duke of Savoy on the liberties of Geneva—in conjunction with the bishop—the League of the Spoon—its vexatious warfare against the Genevese—the disputes for some time merely political—at length the citizens turn to religious considerations—connexion of Geneva with Friburg and Berne—reply of Francis Bonnivard on the projects of religious innovation—letter from Farel to Zwingle—strength of the church party—conduct of the council of the city—Farel preacher at Geneva—the canons carry him before the council, which dismisses him—then before the spiritual court—particulars—he is then expelled from the city—Berne insists on the free preaching of the Gospel—seditious tumults—death of the canon, Wernli, a native of Friburg—interference of that State—return of the bishop—his injudicious conduct, and speedy retirement—discretion of the government of Berne—attempts of the bishop to prevent the circulation of the Bible—the Catholics introduce the Dominican preacher Furbiti—he gives a handle to Berne—the Catholics issue a mandate for the burning of all Bibles in the vulgar tongue—universal disgust occasioned by it—Furbiti is brought to trial by Berne—dispute between him and Farel—interrupted by fresh tumults—Berne obtains a church for the evangelical preachers—last attempt of Friburg—she then withdraws from the League—the people break the images—the bishop excommunicates his subjects—the Pope follows with rather more effect—but Berne is firm, and succeeds—the bishop then removes his court to Gex—the council refuses to acknowledge it—the Genevese burn their suburbs—the Reformation makes progress—a public disputation—favourable to the Reformers—celebration of the mass suspended—monasteries dissolved—the rural districts—by what means converted—improved morality and education follow these successes—the appearance of Calvin—he becomes professor in theology at Geneva—Berne conquers the Pays de Vaud—the bishop of Lausanne interferes and is expelled—beginning

of the Reformation at Lausanne—a public disputation—ends successfully to the Reformers—and the rest immediately follows—the distribution of the ecclesiastical property—remarks—note on Farel and Viret.

THE German division of Switzerland was far more enlightened in the beginning of the sixteenth century than the provinces called Romand, or French. Its easier and more familiar access, not only to the university of Basle, but to the various German academies, will account for this circumstance, which is proved, indeed, by the singular fact that the principal Reformers of the North, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Bullinger, Haller, Wittenbach and others were natives; while the agents subsequently employed for the conversion of the other provinces were, with a single exception, foreigners. It was for this reason partly, and partly through the nearer communication with their own race and the use of a common language, that the inhabitants of the Teutonic cantons had carried their revolution to its final boundaries, almost before any movement was made in the French districts.

Geneva possessed at that time no great political importance. The bishop had enjoyed, for several centuries, great temporal as well as spiritual power, of which the authorised instrument was the episcopal court. But this was restricted by the form, and something more than the form, of popular institutions—syndics, or consuls, chosen by the people, and a greater and a smaller council. Yet the limits of these various jurisdictions were so indistinctly defined as to leave space for perpetual debate.

From without, the Duke of Saxony had long exercised a sort of vicarious authority over the city, which he was then endeavouring to convert into direct despotism. The bishop was his kinsman and his abettor in that attempt; and with such zeal, indeed, did he forward it

as, on one occasion, to offer him the cession of all the episcopal privileges. But this project was opposed by two parties, whose general views were extremely different, but who united, on this particular question, with equal determination. The citizens of Geneva refused to receive a foreign sovereign in the place of their ancient domestic master; and the court of Rome declined to ratify so large a transfer of power from any spiritual to any temporal person.

This repulse did not prevent the duke from pursuing his purpose by other expedients, nor the bishop from co-operating, as far as might be, with his royal relative. And the citizens were thus pressed to such extremities, as to be compelled, under the direction of their syndics and council, to seek protection in some foreign alliance. The canton of Friburg was that to which they first applied. But when, in the progress of events, that single confederate seemed insufficient for their security, they looked for still further support, and, on February 20th, 1526, admitted Berne into the league. Thus, formidably fortified, they had recourse to bolder measures; they expelled the agents of the duke, and rejected, without fear or compromise, his claims of sovereignty.

All these transactions were purely political. The Genevese were simply contending for their liberties. In as far as they were opposed to the duke, it was to preserve themselves from a foreign yoke. Their contest with the bishop proceeded from no dissatisfaction with his church, or even with his own authority, as duly exercised; but only from indignation at his unnatural conspiracy with a stranger, to betray them into servitude. Thus far they were altogether Catholic; and, though the conduct of their prelate had not tended to increase their affection for the communion over which he presided, they had not yet breathed the faintest murmur against it.

The bishop, John of Savoy, died in 1522. He was succeeded in the see by Pierre de Baume, a man of wavering resolutions and inconstant character, ill suited to a crisis of difficulty. At first he seemed to hesitate, whether he should not nourish with his own patronage the infant liberties of his subjects. At one moment he favoured the triple alliance, on which the entire hope of those liberties rested : he even made overtures concerning the resignation of some of his judicial privileges to the community. At another he disputed with the authorities, and opposed their measures.

Meanwhile the duke persisted in his vexatious efforts to distress the inhabitants, and thus, if possible, to gain possession of the city. In 1527 an association of sixty of the principal aristocrats of the Pays de Vaud was formed, in close alliance with himself, and probably by the secret influence of the bishop. It is known in history as "The League of the Spoon," and its object was to crush the popular spirit which was beginning to prevail in Geneva. These cavaliers ravaged the country contiguous, maltreated the peasants, and preyed, like bandits, upon the people. The greater portion of the indignation occasioned by these proceedings fell, whether justly or unjustly, upon the bishop—to his supposed intrigues the vulgar ascribed this harassing persecution. His private demeanour was not such as to compensate for his public offences. During the Lent of this same year he carried off to his palace, with criminal intentions, a young lady of respectable family. She was restored, indeed, inviolate, through the immediate and fierce interference of the multitude ; but the attempt was not forgotten, and it afforded, at that moment of general excitement, an unfortunate, but very seasonable, specimen of ecclesiastical morality.

Through these various circumstances ; through the

facilities which the assertion of independence on one point ever opens to its assertion on others; through the irritation universally prevalent; and doubtless through the example of the most powerful northern cantons, the people of Geneva began at length to turn their thoughts to religious changes. It was not till the year 1528 that the first clamour was raised; and the objects to which it was directed were the profligacy of the clergy and the restrictions in meats. The government of Berne saw and welcomed this first gleam of spiritual amelioration, and immediately despatched deputies to the council, to watch occasions for extending it. But the Friburgers, being zealous Catholics, moved with much greater violence on the opposite side, and threatened instantly to secede from the league, if Geneva should receive the Reformation. These conflicting influences occasioned some perplexity; and recourse was had to the counsel of a wise and virtuous ecclesiastic, Francis Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor.

He replied: "That some change was doubtless desirable in the church, but that it should be a change which would correct the evils, not disguise them; that reform was necessary, not for the clergy only, but also for those who demanded the reform of the clergy; and that those who would amend others must be prepared to amend themselves likewise; that, after all, it was not so much the vices of the clergy that made them hateful, as their intrigues; that the ministers, who might replace the present clergy, would not look with the same complacent connivance on the profligacy of the people; for that the Roman priests, though corrupt like other men, were still tolerant of the corruption of other men; that the duty which they enjoined was obedience to the edicts of the Pope, not to the commandments of God, whereas the reformed ministers would rigidly enforce the last; there-

fore, that it became those who clamoured for reform to consider well, whether they intended to mend their lives, as well as their doctrine; and, if so, that they should begin their work courageously, by setting before their clergy an example of good moral conduct in their own persons.”* It is related that the zeal of some of the loudest advocates for clerical reformation was for a time repressed by this response.

The year 1529 was spent in a continuance of negotiations and disputes between the Duke of Savoy, with “the League of the Spoon,” on the one side, and Geneva, supported by her two allies, on the other. In respect to internal affairs, the exertions of the citizens were almost entirely confined to the assertion of their political independence, and the improvement of their civil government. And even during the two succeeding years, if we except one feeble attempt, by an inconsiderable faction, to correct the morals of the Canons, there was no demonstration of any disgust at the ecclesiastical abuses. All the thoughts and passions of the people were absorbed, so far as history records them, by the persevering and vexatious aggressions of the enemy from without. Nevertheless there is proof that some secret progress was made in spiritual concerns, in a letter addressed by William Farel to Zwingli, on October 1, 1531:—

* See Ruchat, lib. v., tom. ii., p. 281. It is related of the same Bonnivard, that once, when he was about to read some decree of interdict issued by the Archbishop of Vienna against the city of Geneva, a citizen stopped him, saying: “If you read, you will fall under the interdict;” on which he replied: “If you men of Geneva have sinned, you are through that sin excommunicated by God, and it is his curse that you should fear, not that of men. If you have not sinned, the Archbishop has no power over your consciences. If he excommunicate you, Pope Barthold (meaning Haller, of Berne) will absolve you easily. And let me tell you that the conscience acknowledges no tribunal save that of God; and that neither the Devil nor the Pope can do any injury to any, but those who dread them.”

“ I learn that the Genevese think of embracing the Reformation ; were they not restrained by the fear of Friburg, they would receive it at once. I could wish that others had as much at heart the interests of Christ, as the Friburgers have those of the Pope. The papists of the place, counting on that protection, imprison the faithful without hearing their defence, and offer them divers outrages with impunity. *Jus est in armis*—their right is in their arms.” If Zwingle ever received that epistle, it must have been at the moment in which he was himself preparing to defend the right of his own cause, and in obedience to his own reformed government, by those same deprecated arms by which he perished.

But the strength of the reforming party at Geneva was not then nearly so great as the sanguine aspirations of the writer represented it. There was no city where the power of the ecclesiastical government was more deeply rooted. The clergy, under the presidency of their prince bishop, were a rich and commanding body. The people were extremely ignorant and immoral ; and they may not have been very eager for that self reformation, which was represented to them by good Prior Bonivard, as the certain result of a change of doctrine. The Duke of Savoy was a zealous Catholic, and received support both from the Pope and the King of France. The entire influence of Friburg was employed in the same direction. Berne alone was favourable to the Reformation ; and Berne perceived that the moment for direct intervention was not yet arrived. But she observed the course of events with a jealous eye, and availed herself with consummate sagacity of every occasion, and seized every avenue as it was opened.

In the spring of 1532, on the rumour of a papal jubilee, for the sale of indulgences and other customary

purposes, papers were found affixed to the doors of several churches, proclaiming forgiveness of sins on no other conditions, than sincere repentance and a lively faith in Christ. The ecclesiastical authorities were alarmed; but this little demonstration was not followed by any outbreak. In the ensuing August the indulgences were published, and the affair passed off without confusion. Meanwhile the syndics and the council, though heartily attached to the established worship, were too much enlightened not to perceive, that some modifications of it were necessary for its preservation. Therefore they so far interfered in this matter, as to pray the grand vicar to adopt measures for the general preaching of the pure unadulterated word of God. It was a politic suggestion, as its object was no other than to take the Reformation out of the hands of the Reformers, and to place the movement, thus anticipated, under the guidance of the church; but it was somewhat too profound for the sagacity of the ecclesiastics, and they disregarded it altogether.

In September Farel, accompanied by Anthony Saunier, like himself a native of Dauphiny, after preaching the new doctrines in many parts of French Switzerland, with various success, presented himself at Geneva, recommended by letters from the government of Berne. He found some ready listeners, and might have increased their number, had not the Canons presently gained information of his proceedings, and carried him before the council. They alleged, after their fashion, that he was an enemy to the civil government, a trumpet of sedition. Farel replied: "That he was no instrument of sedition, but only a preacher of the truth; that he was prepared to lay down his life for the divine doctrine; that the patronage of Berne was a sufficient guarantee for his probity; that he had a right to a public and impartial

trial; and that this could not be refused him without offence to God, and to the Gospel, and to the lords of Berne." This last consideration seems to have weighed most powerfully with the council. Farel was dismissed with a simple admonition to refrain from further preaching.

But the clergy were not thus easily satisfied. They summoned him to appear forthwith before the episcopal tribunal. And then, indeed, he might probably have perished, either by execution or private violence, had he not been protected by the presence of two deputies from the council, which trembled at the unbridled fury of its clerical allies. But Farel was undaunted; he confidently demanded that his doctrines should be heard, assailed, and defended in public disputation. This was, of course, refused; and the president, in delivering the determination of the court, remarked, with no less simplicity than truth: "If we once come to a disputation, our whole craft will be overthrown."* Farel then pronounced a very bold defence, which he concluded in these words: "I have no other authority but that of God, whose messenger I am." On hearing this, one of the judges arose and said, in Latin, and in great agitation, "He hath spoken blasphemy. What further need have we of witnesses? He is guilty of death." And then, changing his language to French, he exclaimed, "Away with him! to the Rhone! to the Rhone! Better that the wicked Lutheran die, than live and trouble the people." Farel replied, "Speak the words of God, not the words of Caiaphas!" On which all the assembly cried aloud with one voice, "Kill that Lutheran, kill him!" They then heaped on him many personal insults, similar to those which were offered to the Saviour. However, after

* "Si disputetur, totum nostrum mysterium destruetur." Ruchat, tom. iv., p. 305.

this indecent outbreak of anti-christian rage, they became more calm; doubtless they felt the weight of the political consideration which had influenced the council. They spared the person of the culprit, and were contented to expel him, together with his associate, from the city.

But it was now too late. The movement was begun, and it was no easy task to arrest it. Other foreign preachers presently arrived. Of these the principal, one Froment, or Frumentius, was with difficulty preserved from the fury of a mob of women,* more fanatical than their instigators the priests, who would have consigned him, without trial or mercy, "to the Rhone." In 1533 Farel again appeared; and the letters which he brought from Berne were again unavailing to preserve him from insult. Meanwhile, as the internal struggle became more warm, the two protecting cantons began to speak in a louder tone. The one reiterated her menace of secession, in case of the triumph of the new principles. The other remonstrated against the outrages which were committed against persons bearing her recommendations, and insisted that the preaching of the Gospel should be free.

A fierce sedition was the consequence. On the 28th of March the Catholics, still much the stronger party, assembled with the deliberate purpose of perpetrating a general massacre of the Reformers. It is affirmed that they were conducted by no fewer than five hundred

* An attempt was also made by a female servant to destroy the three reformed ministers by poison administered with their food. It is related that Froment happened to dine elsewhere, and that Farel, owing to indisposition, did not dine at all on the destined day; but that Viret tasted the drugs, and was brought to the point of death. The woman accused a canon and a priest of having bribed her to commit the offence; but no one appears to have suffered for it, except herself.

armed priests; and that they were fortified by a *carte blanche* from the bishop, expressing his approbation of every act that, under any circumstances, they might be led to perform against the enemies of the Catholic religion. The tumult was allayed, however, before much mischief had been done, through the interference of two merchants of Friburg; and two days afterwards an edict of peace was issued by the Council of Sixty. It consisted of six articles, of which one only, the last, opened any avenue to the principles of the Reformation: "It is forbidden to preach anything that cannot be proved from Holy Writ."

The sort of concord thus imposed lasted but for a moment. In the following May the churchmen broke forth again into a still ruder commotion, attended by more important consequences. On this occasion they were headed by a Canon named Wernli, clothed in complete armour, and brandishing a two-edged sword—but with a result so unfortunate that the assailants were repulsed, and the holy chieftian slain in the rout. It so happened that this Wernli was a native of Friburg, a member of a noble and powerful family. Thus that state acquired a plausible pretext for intervention in defence of the defeated faction, and in prosecution of the murderers of her citizen: and this was easily extended to a general interposition in favour of the established authorities. The great expedient which she then adopted was one indeed of very obvious promise, but, as it proved, of most unfortunate result. The bishop had been for some time absent from his see; and it was supposed that, should he be restored at that moment to the eyes of his people, his imposing influence might confirm the faithful, decide the wavering, and overawe the innovators. Accordingly the council, on the suggestion of Friburg, wrote to solicit his return. He consented; and when all

parties had engaged on oath to abide by the articles of the 30th of March, large bodies of the citizens issued from the gates, in long procession, to welcome him with every mark of honour due to his double dignity of bishop and prince.

The expedient was tardy. Yet somewhat did doubtless still depend on the conduct which he might adopt after so cordial a reception from so considerable a proportion of his subjects. Had he enforced a more rigid discipline among the monks and clergy; had he abolished some scandalous superstitions and notorious impostures; had he seriously introduced among his preachers a somewhat evangelical tone of pastoral admonition; had he respected the privileges of the people, and presented in his own person a model, if not of holiness, at least of decorous probity, it is possible that even then he might have retarded or eluded the Reformation.

But he did none of all these things. He allowed himself to be employed as the mere instrument of Friburg in avenging the death of her subject.* He at once assumed very lofty pretensions of authority. He endeavoured to usurp certain jurisdiction, in defiance of the assured and understood liberties of the community. The people murmured; and presently, counting on the sure though not proclaimed support of Berne, they armed themselves in great numbers—but still secretly and without any violation of the peace. The bishop received information of this; and, whether terrified by these suppressed menaces, or despairing to perform the lofty part which had ever been enacted by his predecessors, he retired from the city exactly one fortnight after his pompous entrance, and never set foot within its

* The trial, which was impartially conducted, ended in the execution of one man of low condition, who confessed that he had struck the blow.

walls again. He did more than that. He immediately and openly leagued himself with the Duke of Savoy, the declared enemy of Geneva.

As no plausible pretence was offered for this measure, the syndics and the council at once interpreted it as an abdication. Immediately they took the whole administration into their own hands, and thenceforward acknowledged no superior authority.

It should here be observed that the government of Berne conducted its intervention in these delicate affairs with consummate discretion. Was there any occurrence in which the civil or political liberties of the people were manifestly concerned? Instantly she stood forward as their ardent and uncompromising advocate. She associated her name with the generous hopes of national independence and emancipation from the temporal tyrant. But when the question was one of religious changes, she maintained a strict reserve. Perceiving that the great majority was still adverse to such proposals, she followed the most cautious policy; and, while she never overlooked an opportunity of assisting the cause of the Reformers, she never avowedly protected it.

At first she contended for no more than impartiality; that the advocates of the opposite opinions should be placed on the same footing of common justice. She reproached the Friburgers as violent and unfair partisans of the old religion, but she never herself recommended the new. She only demanded, That liberty of conscience should be granted to every individual of both parties; that they should live in peace together; that they should extend, one to the other, the offices of Christian charity and fraternal love; that their differences should never degenerate into dissension; that no conspiracies should be formed for the support of either

worship ; that no man should presume to judge the faith of his brother. These and similar professions, founded on the broadest and most attractive principles, when contrasted with the undisguised partiality of Friburg, exalted the character of the state from which they proceeded, and increased its influence among the people of Geneva. At the same time their tendency, so far as it was possible to give any effect to them, was altogether favourable to the Reformation. And thus, under the show of moderation and justice, and by the expression of the most popular sentiments, Berne was in fact advancing by the most certain path to her real object.*

The bishop, on his part, continued to write admonitory letters to the faithful—that they should stand firm in their ancestral religion ; that they should expel the teachers of the new ; that they should prevent the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue—and his instructions were proclaimed throughout the city to the sound of the trumpet. The last of his injunctions was

* A letter is extant, written to Farel, on August 6th, 1530, by the lords of Berne, which singularly proves the discretion with which they acted in all their proceedings for the advancement of the Reformation. “ Certain persons have brought bitter complaints against you, saying that you act in their States with astonishing violence and audacity, breaking the images, convoking the commonalties and the people, and separating the party which favours the Gospel from that which opposes it, which matters are suitable only to secular persons. We, therefore, warn you not to pass the limits that we have prescribed, but to content yourself with filling the place of preacher, and that only ; and above all things, to urge and inculcate on the people what is the real nature of that liberty which the Gospel procures for men. For there are some who imagine that, if they join our party, they will be set free from the payment of tithes and other imposts. We write these things to you, through the affection that we bear you, to the end that you may avoid, with so much more precaution, those mad dogs. Besides, the Bishop of Basle has made strange complaints against you, even with menaces, as you will learn from our deputies. Therefore keep within the boundaries that we have prescribed to you. . . ”

one to which the ecclesiastical authorities attached very great importance during the whole continuance of this struggle. But in this matter they were not supported by the civil power. However well disposed the magistrates of Geneva might be to maintain the established constitution of the church, they were not prepared to conspire in perpetuating the spiritual ignorance of their subjects. So far otherwise, that almost at this same time the council issued another ordinance to the monks, directing them to preach the Gospel only, and to advance no doctrine which they were not able to sustain by scriptural argument.

Nevertheless the Catholics introduced, towards the end of 1533, a preacher from Montmelian, a Dominican, named Furbiti, renowned for the boldness of his zeal and eloquence. He commenced his ministry by issuing some furious denunciations, not unmingled with insult, against the heretics of Geneva and their *German* supporters. His party gathered courage from his inspiration; and the first fruits of his mission appeared in a mandate issued on January 1st, 1534, by the grand vicar of the bishop—"That every man, who possessed a Bible in the French or German language, should immediately commit it to the flames, on pain of excommunication."

Here were two advantages, proffered to the Reformers, almost at the same instant, by the violence of the enemy; and neither of them was lost. That an edict should be issued for the burning of the Scriptures—that it should be issued by a minister of religion—by the highest minister—by the representative of the prelate—by the visible chief of the national church! This was an outrage too horrible, a scandal too revolting to be justified by the most servile papist. Whatever the practices, the ceremonies, the morals of the church might be, some

show of decorous respect at least was due to that Book, which she still acknowledged to be the Word of God. And, if the Catholics were abased by the act, the other party set no bounds to their exultation. Farel and Frumentius presently re-appeared, and inflamed by their harangues the holy indignation. Thus the heats on both sides were more highly excited than at any former moment; but the current was beginning to turn in favour of the Reformation.

The other affair was this. Furbiti had assailed from the pulpit the German supporters of the heresy. This was immediately communicated to the lords of Berne, who instantly perceived their advantage in making the application to themselves. Without a moment's delay, deputies were despatched to Geneva, instructed to demand, in the loudest tone of remonstrance, reparation for the insult. Furbiti was forthwith summoned before the council. It was in vain that he disclaimed the allusion. The men of Berne persisted. The pretext, if it was a pretext, was too valuable to them to be lost; and after much dispute they so far succeeded as to procure the imprisonment of the offender.

From this moment the interference of Berne was direct and continual. And as Friburg remained faithful to the Catholic cause, and insisted, with as much vehemence, on the integrity of the episcopal jurisdiction, as Berne insisted on the civil punishment of the monk who had insulted her, the question was not a purely religious question: the people of Geneva ranged themselves in the opposite ranks, from other than ecclesiastical considerations; and the stronger hand of Berne, as well as the greater zeal which she had always shown for the secular rights of the citizens, doubtless attached to her party many who were yet unprepared for any great religious change. But as the spirit predominant

in that party was evangelical zeal, the whole of its members presently took that colour, and it became, in effect, what it was not entirely in its origin, the party of the Reformation.

In January, 1534, the deputies of Berne addressed their demands to the council, and supported them by menaces:—1. That the debt due to their government should be discharged. 2. That Furbiti should be tried by civil, not by spiritual, judges. 3. That at least one reformed minister should be authorised to preach in public.

To satisfy the first demand the council applied, among other expedients, to the generosity of the College of Canons, a fair and usual, though, in this case, perhaps, an insidious application. The Canons refused any contribution, and their popularity was not increased by the refusal.

The second occasioned considerable contention; for many of the wisest and most moderate of the citizens still adhered very closely to the ancient practices, and to the prejudices on which they were founded. Yet this they at last reluctantly conceded to the power and determination of a necessary ally. On January the 27th Furbiti appeared before the council. His answers were delivered with discretion, and not without dignity, and under especial protest against the authority before which he stood. He even engaged in a long disputation with Farel, on the scriptural origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and other collateral topics, and in his arguments he betrayed no want either of ingenuity or learning.* This debate had continued for two or three days, when it

* Furbiti was, in the first instance, commanded to retract from the pulpit: he ascended the pulpit, and repeated the offensive expressions. He was then held for some time in detention, and was finally exchanged for Saunier, whom the Duke of Savoy had arrested in Piedmont.

was interrupted by a violent and seditious tumult, in which the blood of some Reformers was shed. Legal investigations were instituted, and in the course of them it appeared, from documents found in the possession of one Porteri, or Portier, a zealous Catholic, that the outbreak could be traced to the secret instigation of the bishop. This fact, which was immediately published, inflicted a more dangerous wound on the ancient system, than Farel's most elaborate reasonings. That deeds of outrage and murder should be perpetrated by a Christian prelate, and that too upon his own subjects, appeared to the hasty judgment and irritated feelings of the multitude conclusive against the system over which he presided.

The third demand of Berne, that some church or chapel should be thrown open to the evangelical preachers, was accorded likewise. On the 1st of March, 1534, the Reformation was, for the first time, publicly proclaimed at Geneva. Farel was the faithful instrument in the execution of a work which was especially his own, and by the constant support of his powerful patrons he maintained his position against the utmost exertions of his opponents.

Before the victory was yet quite decided, Friburg made one great and final effort to retrieve it. She urged the council with remonstrances and menaces; she adjured the Catholics to maintain their violated privileges; and at length, perceiving that her threats and persuasions were alike unavailing, she proceeded, in the bitterness of disappointment and despair, to the last extremity. On the 28th of April she withdrew her alliance, after a continuance of eight years, from the infected city.

Probably by no expedient which she could then have adopted, or which subsequent occurrences might have

suggested to her, could she have succeeded in crushing the Reformation. The people now detested their clergy too passionately, and loved their liberty too deliberately, to be deterred from a purpose which they were at length pursuing in earnest. But the course on which she did decide was that of all others least likely to produce the desired result. To abandon the contested field to the possession of the enemy was certainly not the best method of arresting his progress. The consequences were immediate. Many of those who were most zealously attached to the old religion departed without delay, and carried into other regions their animosities and their regrets. Others passed over to the faction of the bishop and the Duke of Savoy, and ranged themselves in open hostility against their native country. While others, the more lukewarm adherents of the cause, availed themselves of the pretext afforded by the desertion of their protectors, to transfer their precarious support to the conquering party.

Still the triumph was not entirely achieved. The Catholics were yet powerful and active, and disputed every step. The government was still neutral, or, it should rather be said, ostensibly favourable to the established religion. At length the populace moved. On the night of May the 28th, nine stone statues standing on the portal of the Franciscan convent de la Rive, were cast down and mutilated, or thrown into a neighbouring fountain. Proclamations were issued, and the usual investigations instituted; but the culprits were not discovered till the outrage was almost forgotten, and they escaped with scarcely any punishment. The tumult was repeated towards the end of July; and then the council imprisoned the offenders, but it was with this explanatory admission—that the images were not indeed in accordance with the Word of God; but that

their demolition, being unauthorised by the civil government, was a seditious and criminal act.

About the same time Farel and Viret, who had continued their predications in the Convent de la Rive, advanced one step farther, and begun to administer the Sacraments; and great numbers immediately presented their children at the baptismal font.

Meanwhile the bishop did not relax any exertions to repair his losses and restore his cause. Leagued with the Savoyards without, and the papal party within, he ventured, in June, on a bold attempt to surprise the city. His soldiers even advanced within a short distance of the walls. But the plot was betrayed and defeated; and being ascribed to its real author, and justly considered as an attempt on the civil liberties and national independence of the people, it rendered his name still more detested, and the restoration of his spiritual dominion still less attainable than before. Thus effectually repulsed and thwarted, he retired into Burgundy, and thence discharged his spleen (on August 22d) in a sentence of excommunication, in which he accused his subjects of heresy and rebellion, and commanded the confiscation of their goods. But they, perceiving the impotence of his wrath—a secret which it was not very politic in him to disclose—simply despised the episcopal thunder, and met it with derision, unalloyed by any remnant of hereditary reverence.

Then came the direct interference of the Pope. In the following month he too launched his anathema against the citizens of Geneva, and all who should in any way support them. This was a more formidable bolt. The denunciations of the Vatican had not yet utterly lost their weight among a people, so lately and so absolutely enslaved to it. The council wavered. It even closed, for a short period, the church frequented

by the Reformers. The Duke of Savoy was roused to still more vigorous exertions. All the papal adherents, both in the city and neighbourhood, still a powerful body, rose and responded to the call, and prepared themselves for some great enterprise. Berne alone sustained the opposite cause; but this office she performed with such calm, considerate firmness, as to render harmless even this last and most dangerous bolt. When no immediate effect was found to proceed from it, it gradually lost its terrors, and, to the surprise of all parties, was insensibly neglected and forgotten.

The bishop had yet in reserve another expedient of malicious hostility. His court still continued to be held at Geneva; and, through the wealth of its officers and the number of strangers whom it attracted thither, was a source of considerable advantage to the city. He commanded that it should be removed to Gex. The syndics and the council remonstrated with great earnestness against this proceeding, but with no effect. Then came the time for them to assume the offensive. They had nothing further to hope or to apprehend from the prelate. He had not only closed every avenue to reconciliation, but had even exhausted the resources of his spite; they took their measures accordingly. They refused to acknowledge the tribunal of Gex, and prohibited their subjects from giving obedience to it. They did more. In an elaborate remonstrance, which they addressed to the Canons, they concluded many grave charges against the bishop by declaring the vacancy of the see. But then, lest they should be understood to renounce by that act their allegiance to the Apostolical church, they issued (on October 7) a respectful appeal to the Pope.

The exertions of the duke and his allies to effect the conquest of the city were continued with so much per-

severance, and in a manner so harassing and even so dangerous, that the people at length decided on a very desperate measure of self-defence. As the great extent of the suburbs rendered the place accessible in many quarters, they took the provident resolution to destroy with their own hands all the fauxbourgs except one, that of St. Gervais, together with five churches and monasteries contained in them.* They then proceeded, in the same determined spirit, to fortify the rest. A government and a nation, capable of so heroic a sacrifice in defence of their political liberties, were not likely to contend with less courage and less constancy for their religious independence.

And so it proved. During the beginning of 1535 the party of the Reformation made very rapid progress. It was swelled by many emigrants from France, who fled from the persecution there raging against them. It was warmed by the eloquent exhortations of Farel and his colleagues; and, finally, the council manifested an inclination towards the same side. But that considerate discretion which had taught it, while supporting the papal interests, to support them with temper and moderation, now directed it in controlling the too precipitate movements of the Reformers. It continued still to protect the images from popular violence; it asserted the sanctity of the laws against any unauthorised aggression on any portion of the established system. But it commanded the suppression of some detected and notorious impostures, which had been immemorially practised by the clergy.†

* On May 10, 1535.

† For instance, in the church of Notre Dame de Grace, certain monks had professed the practice of resuscitating such infants as died without baptism. By some secret machinery the bodies were caused to make movements, which were mistaken for life; they were then baptized,

In the next place, it ordained that a public disputation should be held in its own presence, and the questions decided by its own judgment. The disputants met in June. A converted Franciscan, named Bernard, was put forward as the principal advocate on the one side, supported by Farel, Viret, and Froment. The cause of the church, as had been generally the case throughout the Swiss Reformation, was feebly defended. The current, besides, was then running strongly against it, and the victory, as may well be supposed, rested with the innovators. Indeed, it was so complete, that if any moment could be assigned as the crisis of the final success of the Reformation, it would be that of the conclusion of this debate.* Multitudes immediately declared their adhesion. Many ecclesiastics joined the stronger side; many monks and devotees followed the stream; and even the women, whose almost unanimous zeal for the ancient system had been more than once displayed, began now to pass over, with the same enthusiasm, to the opposite opinions.

Presently Farel and his colleagues found admission into other churches, besides that which the government had opened to them; and these conquests, which were made irregularly, were confirmed by authority. The canons began to take measures for withdrawing the moveable property of the church; but the council immediately interposed, and prevented the execution of that design; several images were overthrown, and the offenders escaped with authorised impunity. At length, after the sense of the great majority of the citizens had been unquestionably ascertained, the council of Two

and allowed to die again in peace. And this had proved a very profitable mystery. On May 11, the council suppressed these miracles, and exposed the imposture.

* June 24, 1535.

Hundred was assembled, and the celebration of the mass officially suspended.*

This decree was communicated, with much courtesy, to the episcopal vicar, the canons and monks, and it was followed on the 27th of the same month by a general edict to this effect:—That the services of God were thenceforward to be performed according to the statutes of the Gospel; and that all acts of papal idolatry were to cease altogether. Ever after that day the evangelical ministers preached with perfect freedom. The monasteries were next invaded. All the secret machinations they contained for imposture or debauchery were thrown open to the gaze of the multitude, whose loudly vented indignation was embittered by a sense of shame, that they had been so long and so grossly deluded. The government, with a provident care for the stability of its work, converted the Franciscan convent into a public school. The converted ecclesiastics were allowed to retain their salaries; but several faithful Catholics, among whom were some nuns, retired into voluntary exile; and the surplus of the property, which thus fell to the disposal of the government, was employed in the erection of a hospital for the poor.

Thus triumphed the Reformation at Geneva. Some subsequent efforts were, of course, made by the agents of the church to restore her power; but they were faint, and absolutely fruitless. The progress was altogether in the opposite direction; and it was even more easy and rapid than the mass of contending prejudices gave reason to expect. Thus far the revolution was confined to the city; the next step was to extend it to the rural clergy. To this effect they were summoned before the council, in April, 1536, in the presence of Farel and the other ministers, and required to conform at once to the reli-

* On August 10, 1535.

gion of the capital. Against this peremptory injunction an ancient priest, in the name of the majority of his brethren, addressed to the assembly a temperate and reasonable remonstrance :—

“ Assuredly, most honourable lords, we are surprised at this hasty command to forsake, without more mature deliberation, a form of worship announced so many ages ago, and so long received as just, holy and salutary; and that, too, without any proof of its falsehood. You have, indeed, forsaken it yourselves; but not in a moment, as you wish us to do; for you have long had preachers to instruct you. We are, indeed, your most humble servants, but we are Christians nevertheless; redeemed by the blood of our Lord as you are, and as passionate for our salvation as you are for yours. We, therefore, supplicate you, for the honour of Jesus Christ, our common Father and Saviour, that you will permit us to instruct ourselves, as you have done. Send us preachers to teach us, and to show us in what we are in error; and then, if they can convince us, we shall no longer have any difficulty in following your example, and submitting in all respects to your will.” *

This just petition was immediately accorded. Ministers were commissioned to instruct the rural population in the new doctrines; and so effectual was their preaching, that all the dependent villages speedily, and without any violence, adopted the creed of the metropolis.

The two grand objects which were so generally associated, by the Swiss Reformers, with their religious changes, the purification of morality and the advancement of education, were especially pursued by the reformers of Geneva. Rigid laws were forthwith enacted against gambling, against blasphemous oaths, against wanton songs, farces, dances, and masquerades, against

* Ap. Ruchat, lib. xiv. t. v., p. 605.

every form of intemperance. In the conversion of the rural districts the order of the Reformation was in some sense inverted, and moral improvement introduced as introductory to that of religion.

There had long existed a public school at Geneva, which was supported by a considerable endowment, but which conferred no proportional advantage on the community. This was immediately converted into a college for the general instruction of the people; and, that its efficacy might be well secured, it was confided to the direction of Saunier, the friend and former fellow labourer of Farel. This occurred in May, 1536, and during the August following another of his coadjutors presented himself at Geneva: he was a Frenchman, a native of Picardy, young, being only in his twenty-eighth year, but not without celebrity, both as a scholar and a divine, nor untried in the battles of the Reformation. Disgraced at Paris for his zeal in that cause, he had retired to Basle; he had then travelled in some parts of Italy; and, after another short visit to his native country, he was on his way to fix his permanent residence at Basle or Strasburg. The war, which was then raging between France and the empire, precluded a direct journey to either of those places, and compelled him to take a circuitous route by Geneva.—This man was Calvin.

Farel urged him to remain at Geneva, which offered as wide a field to his talents as those other cities, besides the peculiar claims which it possessed as an imperfect and infant community. Calvin replied with modesty, that his education was yet incomplete, and that he required still further instruction and application, before he should be qualified for so difficult an office. On this Farel raised his voice, and said:—"But I declare to you, on the part of God, that, if you refuse to labour

here along with us at the Lord's work, His curse will be upon you ; since, under the pretence of your studies, it is yourself that you are seeking rather than Him." Overwhelmed by so authoritative * a declaration of the will of God, proceeding from so illustrious an apostle of the Reformation, Calvin consented. He was immediately appointed professor of theology, and soon afterwards minister of one of the principal parishes. This double occupation afforded space enough for the display of his great qualities, and opened the path to that singular influence which he afterwards acquired, both in church and state.

The violence of the Duke of Savoy and his confederates at length aroused the tardy but terrible vengeance of Berne. In the beginning of 1536 she brought her conquering armies into the field, and in one short campaign effectually overthrew her enemy, and deprived him of all his possessions in the Pays de Vaud. In the outset of this affair, the Bishop of Lausanne, who was likewise a temporal prince, volunteered his feeble aid to the party of his brother of Geneva. It was a fruitless act of self-devotion. Had he been contented to be neutral, the storm might have rolled away from him. But that gratuitous provocation was far too welcome to the offended canton to be overlooked or forgiven. War was immediately declared against him, and waged with such effect that, as early as May 22, he fled in terror from this see ; and he returned to it no more. Nine days afterwards the conquerors entered Lausanne, and seized

* " Qui non audebat (quæ Calvinii sunt verba), ad Farelli tonitrua plusquam Periclea, jugum vocationis, quod sibi a Domino videbat imponi, detrectare. Calvin confessed, that he did not dare, when he heard the more than Periclean thunderings of Farel, to decline the yoke of the ministry, manifestly imposed on him by the Lord." Ap. Ruchat, lib. xiv. tom. v., p. 621.

all the temporalities of the bishop, and took military possession of some neighbouring towns, which were subject to his jurisdiction.

Till the spring of 1536, Lausanne had continued immovably faithful to the ancient religion. Some attempts to introduce the evangelical doctrines, made by Farel and other preachers acting under the influence of Berne, had been defeated, and the teachers excluded. The church was all powerful; and though the gross irregularities of the canons, together with other causes, had excited much disgust among the people; yet the murmurs of their discontent had been effectually suppressed by the dominant hierarchy. But now the state of ecclesiastical affairs was suddenly and altogether reversed. The bishop had virtually abdicated his rights, and an army of reformers occupied his deserted palace.

The government of Lausanne, like that of Geneva, had contracted many years before a league of fellow-citizenship (*Combourgeoisie*) with Berne and Friburg, which still subsisted; and some subjects of Lausanne, in compliance with the conditions of that league, were at that moment ranged under the banners of Berne. Yet the latter took no rash advantage of these flattering circumstances. She did not proclaim the Reformation to the sound of the trumpet; she did not even obtrude it on the notice of the people, as the leading object of her policy. On the contrary, she introduced various improvements into the civil government of the city, but deferred the very mention of any religious change until it should be demanded by the voice of the people.

Viret had been preaching there in March; and with so much effect, that some images had been broken by the popular indignation, amidst the clamour of the priests and canons and the judicial reprehension of the government. On April the 4th, a general assembly was held,

at which it was agreed: That perfect liberty of conscience should be allowed to both parties; that churches should be open to both; and that concord and good will should be preserved on all sides.

A Dominican of some celebrity maintained from a Catholic pulpit the ancient opinions; and after a short interval Viret challenged the antagonist preacher to a public disputation. The other refused, and some interchange of reproaches followed, which ended in the retirement of the Dominican. The canons now began seriously to tremble, and made loud professions of remorse and promises of amendment—the usual fruits of fear. But these availed them nothing; they did not deceive the most partial listener, nor retard for a single moment the progress of the revolution. Berne at length felt justified in interposing; but only yet so far as to appoint a disputation, to be held on the 1st of October.

It was the last and almost expiring effort of the papal party to prevent this debate; and in that hope they petitioned the Emperor himself to issue his prohibition. He did so; and the council of Lausanne, hitherto neutral in the affair, displayed a strong disposition to enforce the imperial ordinance. But Berne was firm; and as that government had now installed itself in the place of the bishop, and assumed, after his departure which it called his abdication, the exercise of his prerogatives, it defended its perseverance by the pretence of ecclesiastical authority. Then the Catholics, who resided in all the towns and country round about Lausanne, urged their remonstrances against the project—but with no better success. As the time approached, the canons exhibited still increasing indications of their great disquietude. Yet so hopeless and universal was the ignorance in which they were plunged, that, at this crisis of their fate, when so much might turn upon the ability of the dis-

putants, not one among their whole body was found qualified to take any share in their defence; not one advocate could they furnish to the church, which had educated and pampered them, in the hour of her tribulation.

On the day prescribed, a Dominican monk, a school-master, a French physician, and two or three parochial priests, presented themselves as the champions of the Apostolical communion. They were confronted by Farel and Viret—Calvin too was present, but he took no leading part in the argument. Ten theses were proposed by Farel, containing the doctrines generally received by the Reformers of Switzerland; and they were contested during nine days of obstinate, but unequal, controversy. At length, on October 8, the disputation closed with a sermon by Farel, and the victory was adjudged, with much vociferous acclamation, to the party of the multitude and of Berne. The ancient system was dissolved by a single blow. The monks and the priests were scattered or converted; and, as if to stigmatise the oft imputed connexion between superstition and immorality, and to consecrate by a purer practice the triumph of the new principles, the houses of licentious resort were closed only two days after the end of the disputation, and all women of tarnished, or even suspected reputation, were expelled from the city.

The government of Berne pursued its advantages. One by one the various places, which it had acquired by its recent victories, received the yoke of the Gospel; and this was accomplished in a remarkable short space of time during the same year, 1536, without any important commotion, or violent resistance. The following was its method of proceeding. First, preachers were introduced who, acting under the patronage of the conquerors, and promulgating popular principles presently

formed a party. Next, a public disputation was proclaimed, in which the Reformers were invariably triumphant. Then the images were gradually removed; then the mass was abolished; and lastly, other and more stringent edicts* followed for the confirmation and extension of the work.

In the distribution of the ecclesiastical property, the first attention was paid to the wants of the ministers, and the claims of all conformers among the canons, monks, or clergy of the ancient church. Of the residue, some portion in many instances, doubtless, reached the public treasury;† but much was previously appropriated to charitable purposes, and still more to purposes of education. The celebrated academy of Lausanne, for the instruction of all orders of society, in all languages and sciences, was founded and endowed from the cathe-

* The first article of a decree published by the Grand Council of Berne on December 24, 1536, was to the following purpose: That no minister shall preach among their subjects without their order; and that, though a minister may be elected by other parties, he shall receive his confirmation from Berne; that the ministers must preach the Word of God in its purity, and advance nothing that they cannot prove from Scripture; and that their subjects must listen to the Word of God, under pain of their displeasure. The first article of another edict, published in 1548, was to this effect: That every person, male and female, shall attend church once on every Sunday at least, and shall be attentive to every part of the divine service under the penalty of ten florins, in the case of a man, and five in that of a woman. This proves the progress of the spirit. Attendance on the evangelical sermons was likewise enforced at Geneva; and some recusants were imprisoned, and others exiled—but no blood was shed.

† When a church was converted to the Reformation, it was the general practice of the government to sell all the ornaments of any value, and to apply the proceeds to pious purposes. The fixed property was commonly devoted to the subsistence of ministers, to pensions, &c.; and, if it proved larger than those uses demanded, the surplus entered into the public treasury; and this particularly occurred in the dissolution of monasteries and nunneries.

dral revenues, during the year which followed the secession of the bishop. Schools for the education, even of very young children, according to the principles of the Reformation, were established wherever opportunities could be found or created. And though the ancient system did not in a moment lose all its influence over the minds of all; though some efforts to restore it were made from time to time by some, who openly persisted in their fidelity, and secretly encouraged by many, whose conversion had been false and interested, yet they were invariably repressed, and without much difficulty, by the strong and arbitrary, but never sanguinary, hand of Berne. The principles of toleration, as they are now understood, were not practised or even recognised by the superior party, and many sufferings and much wrong were undoubtedly inflicted upon the faithful adherents of the church; yet, when we consider how exclusive and how cruel were the notions which that church had industriously instilled into all her children, and, among her children, into those who now disclaimed her authority and cast off her yoke, it is matter, perhaps, of some surprise, that they bore themselves in their victory with so much moderation.*

* Theodore Beza, in an epigram, written about 1568, thus described the three great Reformers of French Switzerland:—

Gallica mirata est Calvinum Ecclesia nuper,
 Quo nemo docuit doctius.
 Et quoque te nuper mirata, Farelle, tonantem,
 Quo nemo tonuit fortius.
 Et miratur adhuc fundentem mella Viretum,
 Quo nemo fatur dulcius.
 Scilicet aut tribus his servabere testibus olim,
 Aut interibis, Gallia.

Farel, indeed, like Calvin, was a Frenchman. He was born in 1489, of a good family in Dauphiny, was educated at Paris, and much distinguished in his early years. In 1523 he repaired to Strasburg, where Capito and Bucer gave him a cordial welcome. Then followed his dis-

putation at Basle, and his consequent expulsion from that city. He was present at the disputation at Berne in 1528, and continued his exertions, as a missionary of Berne, in the cause of the Reformation. Though he encountered many repulses, more perhaps than any of the evangelical preachers, he was at every time ready to renew the attempt. His spirit was ardent and undaunted, and well suited to the part assigned to him in that great drama; though some, of course, have found cause to regret that it was not tempered with greater moderation. He died in 1565, in mature old age, a pastor of some church in the neighbourhood of Geneva.

But Peter Viret was a native of Orbe, and was indeed the only French Swiss who took any distinguished part in the Reformation of his country. He was much younger, born in 1511; he too studied, and also with honour, at Paris; and returned at a very early age to engage in the spiritual strife. After the conversion of Lausanne, he remained there for some time, till all things were well established. Then he repaired to Montpellier, and afterwards to Lyons, as if to repay to France the benefits which her two countrymen had conferred upon Switzerland; but he was finally expelled from that country, and died in 1571. He has left behind him many more compositions than Farel, who spoke and acted more vigorously, but committed little to paper.

CHAPTER XLV.

ATTEMPTS AT PACIFICATION.

Francis persecutes the Reformers in France—the Germans remonstrate—consequent negotiations—the Protestant divines and the Sorbonne—Reformation in Denmark and Norway—accession of Christiern to the League of Smalcald—death of George of Saxony—succession of Henry his brother, a Reformer—Luther preaches at Leipzig, and the people are converted—the reply of certain divines to the Landgrave of Hesse on the subject of his proposed bigamy—meeting at Francfort, with a view to reconciliation, favourable to the Protestants—the Recess not ratified by Charles—the Protestants meet again at Smalcald—further communications with France and England—conference of Hagenau—adjourned to Worms—number and abilities of the Protestant disputants—weakness of the Catholics—Eck still their champion—his disputation with Melancthon—the conference again adjourned to Ratisbon—Charles present on this occasion—method of proceeding—committee of six—the Emperor's book submitted by Granvel—deliberations—certain articles agreed on—others postponed—inducements to peace proposed by Charles—some Protestants waver, but the bolder party prevails, with Luther at its head—their proposals—violence of the ultra-papists—they reject “the Book”—the matter referred to the Legate, Gaspar Contarini—his high reputation and excellent qualities—his peaceful intentions thwarted chiefly by his own party—much restricted by the Pope—his reply to the Protestants—his lecture to the bishops on self-reformation—his conduct offensive to both sides—the decision of the Diet grants to the Protestants a provisional toleration—further exertions of the Legate—concluding observations.

SOME papers had been placarded in the streets of Paris, containing matter offensive to the established doctrine of the Eucharist and the sacrifice of the mass. Francis was at that moment on friendly terms with Henry VIII. on the one hand, and with the Lutheran princes on the other; yet he determined to extinguish in his own dominions the very first sparks of the heresy. To that end

he commanded a general procession through the most public parts of the city, in order to cleanse away the pollution. He conducted it in person; on January 29, 1535, on foot, with his head bare, and a torch in his hand, followed by his children, by the princes of the blood, and all the chiefs of his court, he marched from the church of the Louvre to Notre Dame, and then pronounced an harangue against the new opinions, as violent as thought could suggest, or words express. "If my arm were infected with this pestilence I would cut it off. If one of my children were so wretched as to favour this new reform, and to wish to make profession of it, I would sacrifice him myself to the justice of God, and to my own justice." From declamation he proceeded to action. Six Lutherans were immediately condemned and burnt. Severe inquisitions were instituted, not at Paris only, but in many other cities, and the penal flames were kindled in various parts of the kingdom.

The Protestant princes remonstrated, and Francis, fearing a breach, sent, in the following spring, an ambassador to Smalcald. 'In excuse for his persecutions, he pretended the ancient customary plea of "seditious tendency"—that rebellious spirits were conspiring, under the pretext of religion, for the ruin of his dominions; that immediate and exemplary chastisement was necessary to repress the contagion of their turbulence. But this might not have been sufficient to blind the confederates, had he not employed at the same time another expedient. He professed a strong desire for better information respecting their doctrines, and to that end requested that one of their most eminent divines might be sent to his court.

Melancthon was selected; and many of the Protestant chiefs were desirous that he should undertake the mission. They trusted, that through his influence the hostile

feelings of Francis might be mitigated, and the persecution arrested. And when the king himself addressed,* on June 28, 1535, a friendly invitation to the theologian, to confer at his court, and in his presence, with certain doctors of France, concerning the restoration of order and discipline in the church; when he gave him assurance of personal safety, of the great pleasure he should receive from the visit, whether made in a private or official character, and of his wish to contribute to the dignity and repose of the German nation; even Luther became for a moment favourable to the project, and employed his influence with the elector† to forward it—but with no success. Unwilling to compromise the security of so distinguished a subject, the prince persisted in refusing his permission; and Melancthon returned, on the 27th of September, a reluctant refusal to the royal overture.

Meanwhile the divines of Paris decidedly discouraged the notion of their monarch. They represented, and with truth, that the proposed conference with the Germans would produce only dangerous and interminable disputes; that it was even unlawful to engage in controversy with convicted heretics; that the better method would be, to engage the latter to send a written exposition of the articles of their faith, for the consideration of the Sorbonne. Francis, on reflection, perceived the discretion of these suggestions. He again communicated with the Protestants, and presently submitted to the faculty twelve articles, which he had received from Melancthon. It is not necessary to enumerate them, or

* Epist. Phil. Melancth. Lib. i. Epist. 29. Edit. Lond. 1642.

† Aug. 17, 1535. (No. 1653.) That which follows it is addressed to Justus Jonas, on the same subject. “*Philippus vocatus a Franciæ Rege est et etiam me consule libens proficisceretur. Nedum id a principe impetrare potuit, subindignabundus hinc discessit rursus ad Jenam.*”

to enter very deeply into their substance. They related to the main points of difference between the Reformers and the church, the power of the Pope, human traditions, fasting, image-worship, the mass, the eucharist, confession, justification, monastic vows, the celibacy of the clergy, masses for the dead, purgatory, free-will,—and, for the most part, expressed on these points the opinions embodied in the Confession of Augsburg. The suppression of the public disputation left to the French divines comparatively an easy task. They composed an ingenious and elaborate reply. And other matters arose which diverted the king from his design. It seems probable, however, that for the moment he entertained it in perfect earnestness and with his constitutional ardour; and as to certain suspicions of treachery, which gained a partial credit among the Lutherans, they appear to me to rest on no intelligible foundation.*

However the negotiations with Francis, and the respect which he showed in the course of them to the Protestant confederacy, contributed unquestionably to the strength and confidence of that body. But a far more substantial advantage they obtained very soon afterwards by the accession of the King of Denmark.

* A report was universally spread, that the real ambassadors sent by Francis to escort Melancthon had been murdered by the way, and that those who appeared were papal emissaries, suborned to murder him. "De Legatis Francici fit universus rumor, etiam ab optimis viris, ut nollem jam et ipse Philippum cum illis proficisci. Fit suspicio veros Legatos in itinere esse occisos et per Papistas istos cum literis subornatos ad extrahendum Philippum." Luther to J. Jonas, Sept. 1, 1535; and again to Gereon Seiler, on Oct. 5: "Philip refrains from his journey to France for many reasons, especially because the Frenchman's perfidy is on several grounds now perfectly clear to us. . . . (No. 1673). Siquidem et Galli perfidia non ex uno loco interim ad nos perscripta est. . . ."

On August 12th, 1537, Christiern III., who had been raised to the throne two years before, proclaimed his adhesion to their party by a great public act—he received his consecrated crown from the Lutheran hands of Bugenhagen. He then proceeded to communicate to his subjects his own adopted faith. It was first embraced by Copenhagen. The example of the capital was followed by the provinces, and most willingly by Norway, a recent conquest of Christiern. The bishops resisted the change, and were removed from their sees. Among the people, such as adhered to the ancient system were imprisoned. The ecclesiastical revenues, excepting only the canonries and prebends, were confiscated; and the Reformation, thus established in the north-western extremities of Europe, presently took root and flourished in a congenial soil. In the place of the degraded bishops, seven in number, Bugenhagen ordained the same number of “superintendents,” for the performance of the episcopal duties, and the permanent regulation of the new churches.

In the course of 1539 another important change was effected, also favourable to the same cause. George of Saxony, perceiving that his end approached, disposed by will of his dominions, being himself childless, to his brother Henry and his sons Maurice and Augustus, all Protestants. He restricted his bequest, however, by this condition: That those princes should make no innovation in the religion of their subjects, on pain of forfeiting their States to the Emperor, in trust, until either they, or some other member of the family, should consent to such stipulation. The dying prince then summoned his nobles and principal subjects together, communicated this his testament to them, and requested them to ratify it by an oath, and guarantee its execu-

tion. But these sagacious persons, apprehending a disputed succession and civil contentions, besought the prince, first to obtain from his brother a promise to abide by the above condition.

Messengers for that purpose were immediately dispatched to Henry. They urged him, by various inducements, to accept the terms; and especially represented that the coffers were abundantly stored with treasure; that there was much well-wrought furniture and other household wealth, which would all devolve on him, if only he would consent to the terms. Henry replied, without hesitation: "This your embassy, gentlemen, is to me a very striking representation of what is delivered to us in Holy Writ—how Satan promised to Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if only He would fall down before him and worship him. And do you indeed believe that any amount of wealth would have such weight with me that, for the sake of it, I would depart from the acknowledgment of truth and the purity of religion? Then your expectation does very much indeed deceive you . . ."* With this decided refusal the ambassadors returned; but, meanwhile, on April the 24th, 1539, the duke died. Henry seized the occasion, and, with the countenance of the elector his kinsman, immediately, and unrestrained by any stipulation, assumed the government.

His first proceeding evinced the strong religious zeal which had dictated the above declaration. He invited Luther to his capital. The man of all others most

* "Sane vestra hæc legatio plane mihi representat illud, de quo proditum est in Sacris Literis, cum Satanas Christo polliceretur totius mundi regna, modo procumbens ad pedes ipsum adoraret. An vero tanti esse apud me putatis ullas opes, ut earum causa velim ab agnita veritate puraque religione discedere? Multum certe vos expectatio vestra fallit."—*Sleidan, lib. xii. f. 196. ann. 1539.*

detested by his predecessor, he, whose works and very name were stigmatized and proscribed, was summoned, while the ashes of his enemy were scarcely cold, to preach, in the very precincts of the court, his persecuted doctrine. And, with so much success he preached it, that in a single day, and by a single sermon, as contemporary records assure us, the whole body of the citizens of Leipzig was converted. Doubtless the principles had long been planted there; and, though any general expression of them had been checked by the rigour of the civil authority, yet had they spread in silence, and animated the secret aspirations of the multitude. And thus the veteran preacher was welcomed, not only as the messenger of divine truth, but also as the great liberator from spiritual oppression. He did no more than light the train; the act was instantly succeeded by one loud explosion of unanimous zeal; and an important principality was changed by a single movement from a state of apparent hostility to the free and ardent confession of the evangelical doctrine.

An affair occurred about this time, which is not very important, except as far as it illustrated the moral principles of some of the chiefs of the Reformation, and furnished materials for loud censure to the Catholics, both in that and after ages. The Landgrave of Hesse made an application, through Bucer, to the chief divines of Wittemberg, desiring their opinion, how far he would be justified by the laws of God in espousing, his wife being still living, a second wife.* Had the question

* We find no mention of a proposed divorce, nor indeed any plea, except the ungovernable violence of his passions. It is true that questions of marriage, divorce, and adultery, were very commonly submitted, during that crisis, to the casuistry of the Protestant divines, as the successors of the Catholic priests. We find many such cases in the correspondence of Luther, though not one standing on so bad a ground as that of the

proceeded from a peasant, the answer would have been short and not difficult; but with a prince of ardent temperament as well as of pre-eminent zeal for the Reformation, it was necessary at least to keep measures, if it were impossible to accord to him an undisguised or unrestricted indulgence. Hence arose some perplexity, which is sufficiently exposed in the reply of the theologians.

In this curious and discreditable composition, they first established, very carefully, the distinction between a rule and its exception. Then they advanced some instances of polygamy recorded in the Old Testament; but they pleaded that it was clearly not the intention of Christ that such should be His law. They urged, moreover, that great scandal would be occasioned by the act meditated by the Landgrave, as bringing the Reformers into comparison with the Anabaptists and Turks. Next they very earnestly exhorted him to refrain from the licentious practices to which he was too notoriously devoted, and to return to the ways of purity. Then they proceeded:—

“But if your highness should persevere in imprudently pleading that it is impossible for you to do otherwise, we could wish you to stand in a better condition, both before God and your own conscience, and to hold in greater regard the safety of your soul, and the welfare of your subjects. Still, should your highness decidedly determine to marry another wife, we conjure you to perform the act in secrecy, so that your design may be known only to that person herself, and to a few faithful friends, under the seal of confession. From such a pro-

Landgrave. In fact he was so overwhelmed by such applications that in 1536 he declared his determination to interfere no more in such matters, but commit them altogether to the jurists. Happy had he persisted in that resolution! Seckend. lib. iii. sect. 15. § xlix.

ceeding no scandals of any great moment would arise; for it is no uncommon matter for princes to maintain concubines; and though the meaning of this might not be obvious to all the vulgar, yet the more intelligent would understand it; and this modest manner of life would please them better than adultery and other beastly and wanton acts. Besides the remarks of others are not to be heeded, if one's conduct be rightly consistent with one's conscience. In this manner, and to this extent, we approve your design.*

“For the Gospel does not annul or prohibit what was permitted by the Law of Moses, in regard to matrimony, since it does not alter the outward ordinance, but adds to it eternal justification to life eternal, and originates a new sort of obedience to God, and endeavours to restore our corrupt nature. Thus, then, your highness not only possesses our testimony, in case of necessity, but also our previous considerations, which we request you, as a praiseworthy, wise, and Christian prince, to consent to ponder. And so we pray God that He will guide and govern you to His own praise, and to the salvation of your soul.”

* “*Quod si denique Vestra Celsitudo omnino concluderit adhuc unam conjugem ducere, juramus id secreto faciendum . . . nempe ut tantum illi personæ ac paucis personis fidelibus constet V. C. animus et conscientia, sub sigillo confessionis. Ilinc non sequuntur alicujus momenti contradictiones aut scandala; nihil enim est inusitati principes concubinas alere; et quamvis non omnibus ex plebe constaret ratio, tamen prudentiores intelligerent; et magis placeret hæc modesta vivendi ratio, quam adulteriam et alii belluini et impudici actus. Nec curandi aliorum sermones, si recte cum conscientia agatur. Sic et in tantum hoc approbamus.*” The date is December 10th, 1539. Published along with it in De Wette's edition is a duplicate in German, probably the original, which differs in no respect from the Latin copy, except that it bears only three signatures, those of Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer. For instance: “*Wo aber E. F. C., endlich beschliessen noch sine Ehe-weib zu haben, so bedenken wir dass solches heimlich zu halten sey . .*”

This document, conveying a direct sanction of bigamy, and dissuading its open profession, not on social or religious considerations, the welfare of man, or the spirit of the Gospel of Christ, but solely through fear of the scandal it might occasion, and so declaring that it might be properly practised, provided it were practised secretly: this disreputable document, this unfortunate monument of pitiable weakness, if it were not altogether baseness, bore the signatures, not only of five obscure divines of Hesse,* the subservient implements of their master's lusts; not of only Melancthon and Bucer, whose notorious flexibility detracted much from their authority; but of Luther himself besides—the unerring casuist, the judge of last resort, the dictator of the moral and religious principles of his evangelical church.

As the confederates of Smalcald acquired year by year additional strength and confidence, Charles perceived more and more clearly the necessity of keeping terms with them. Yet desirous, above all things, to restore the concord of his empire, he determined once more to bring the parties together in conference, and to repeat his attempt at reconciliation. To that effect, he caused his brother to convoke an assembly, and prevailed on the Pope to send to it a distinguished representative. It met at Francfort, and commenced its deliberations on February 24, 1539. Numerous questions were, of course, proposed on both sides, and the discussions, which lasted for almost two months, were conducted with a moderation not usual in religious controversy, yet without any approach to harmony.

The terms of the Recess were favourable to the Pro-

* Seckendorf (lib. iii. sect. 21. § lxxix. addit. iii.) wastes several columns in a laborious attempt to palliate this transaction, which ended, it is scarcely necessary to add, in the secret marriage of the Landgrave. Bucer and Melancthon sanctioned the ceremony by their presence.

testants. On April 19, it was agreed, among other articles, that the emperor should grant them a truce of fifteen months for their better instruction on religious subjects; that the peace of Ratisbon should remain in force till the first General Diet; that no sort of violence or injury should be offered to any one on the ground of religion; that the Protestants should receive no new members into their league; that they should permit the Catholic clergy to exact their annual incomes; that no Anabaptist, or sectary, or any not embracing the Confession of Augsburg, should be comprehended in the treaty; that the two parties should fix a day, with the pleasure of the Emperor, for another religious and amicable conference, at which the ambassadors of the Emperor and of Ferdinand should be present, but not the legate of the Pope; that both parties should hold themselves in preparation to co-operate in the Turkish war.

The Emperor was in Spain; and when this treaty was submitted for his ratification, he was much perplexed. If he refused, his presence, which could ill be spared in Spain, would be immediately required, to allay the discontent of his German subjects. If he consented, he would confirm the triumph of a party which he now detested, not so much for its religious heresies, as for its political independence. In this difficulty, he pleaded the pressure of domestic affliction, occasioned by the death of the empress, and expressed no determination on the subject. The Pope, who had at that moment no counteracting interest, broke out in indignation against all concerned in the affair, and especially censured the criminal and treacherous moderation of the imperial ambassadors.

In the beginning of the following year the Protestants sent an embassy to Charles, then in Flanders. It

was admitted to an audience on the 24th of February; and after refuting some calumnies which were supposed to have influenced his policy, it besought him to ratify the treaty of Francfort, and to stop the proceedings of the imperial chancellor; it also urged the necessity of the proposed conference of theologians, for the establishment of any permanent and general concord among the States of the empire. On the other side, the legate was not remiss in his endeavours to counteract this last suggestion; for, indeed, there was no sort of proposal which gave more jealousy to the spiritual despot, than that of any independent assembly, ecclesiastical or secular, for the regulation of spiritual matters. And thus was it now represented:—That such meetings, however amicable the object they might pretend, were invariably unsuccessful; that it was a vain attempt to treat with the Protestants about concord, as had been proved at Augsburg, and on similar and later occasions; that those heretics were inconstant and mutable: that they had already innovated on their own boasted Confession; that they were insincere and slippery; and that their true and only object was, not the Reformation, but the extinction of the pontifical church, and of the entire system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

At the same time the confederates continued their private negotiations with the King of France; and while, on the one hand, they professed their confidence in the good intentions of the Emperor, they solicited, on the other, the support of his rival, in case that confidence should be disappointed. Then, on the 1st of March, 1540, they held a general assembly at Smalcald, at which most of their theologians, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Pomeranus, Bucer, and others, attended, with directions to compile a form of doctrine so expressed, as

to open, as far as Christian truth might permit, the gates of reconciliation. This subject had been canvassed at a previous conference in 1537.* And the divines presently arrived at the conclusion, which they communicated to the princes, that they must adhere to the doctrine of the Confession of Augsburg, and to the Apology which explained and confirmed it; but that they should not insist with pugnacity on points indifferent.†

It was on this occasion that the mission, which had been despatched to England, returned a friendly reply from that court, suggesting the propriety of sending thither a formal embassy, with Melancthon among its members. For Henry was, perhaps, surprised at the firmness, which continued to insist on a doctrinal agreement as the basis of what he considered a political alliance. He was, therefore, desirous to ascertain whether it were possible to come to such agreement; or, at least, to establish some semblance of concord, which might satisfy the scruples of the confederates. But they remained faithful to the grand principle of their league; and after a respectful reply to the arguments of the king, repeated their resolution to form no alliance which should not be founded on community of religious belief.‡

* Seck. Lib. iii. Sect. 16. §. lvi.

† “*Allatæ sunt deliberationes, quarum consensus summus fuit, non posse abjici eos articulos, quos in Confessione et Apologia confitemur. Constituto doctrinæ consensu, de Adiaphoris non odiose pugnandam esse. . . .*” Melancthon to Luther de Actis Conventus Smalcaldensis, in 1540. Mel. Epist. Lib. i. Ep. 23.

‡ On the 23rd of the October preceding, Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and J. Jonas, wrote a joint epistle to the Elector, dissuading him from any further negotiation with Henry; and Luther another to the same effect. (Nos. 1886, 1887). In a letter from Luther to Bucer, of the same, October 14 (1884), is the following:—“I fear that your hope respecting the king of England is unfounded. We have heard the Eng-

At the same time they exchanged some communications with the Emperor,* then much influenced by the more moderate counsels of Granvel. He at length assented to the proposed conference of conciliation; and, with many pacific professions, appointed Spires as the place of meeting. The place, owing to a pestilence which prevailed there, was changed to Hagenau, where the assembly was opened by Ferdinand on the 25th of June following (1540). Though the Elector and Landgrave, as well as Luther, were absent, and even Melancthon's attendance was prevented by severe illness,† the King of the Romans appointed a committee of mediators, and proceeded to business. Louis Count Palatine, the Archbishop of Treves, Louis of Bavaria, and the Bishop of Strasburg, all four moderate Catholics, were the per-

lish themselves, while they were staying here, complaining about their king, and looking with admiration upon our liberty."

* The princes arrived at Smalcald on March 29, and separated on April 13. According to Melancthon, in his letter to Luther on this conference, the Emperor, wishing for a private arrangement of the controversy, promised great impartiality, if the Protestants would commit the affair to his arbitration. At the same time, he desired express information as to the questions to be conceded or defended by them; and somewhat harshly reproached them with having affected a great desire for concord, with no better motive than to gain time, and thus gradually strengthen their party. They replied,—that by conciliation, they certainly did not mean the restoration of the ancient errors, and the abandonment of pious doctrine; they mentioned certain points which they would not compromise, and they requested that the controversy might not be privately treated, but amply discussed in a public assembly. "*Habes Historiam hujus Convētus præcipuam.*"

† On this occasion, while on his journey to Hagenau, Melancthon dreamed and prophesied his own immediate death. "*Viximus in synodis et jam moriemur in illis.*" He afterwards ascribed his illness to mental anxiety, and declared that he was rescued from the very grasp of death only by the appearance of Luther. "*Fuissem extinctus, nisi adventu Lutheri ex media morte revocatus essem.*" Mel. ad Bucardum Mythobium, ap. Melchior Adam. *Vita Melancthonis.*

sons whom he chose; and these immediately called upon the Protestants for the articles of their doctrine. The divines present, among whom were Bullinger, Urban Rhegius, Brentz, Osiander, Schnepf, and Bucer, replied, that they adhered to the Confession of Augsburg. The mediators rejoined, that, as an agreement on some of the doctrines of the Confession has been established at Augsburg, it only remained to discuss the others in the same spirit. The Protestants answered, that no such agreement had been clearly defined or officially sanctioned, so as to be the basis of further negotiations. Some disputes succeeded. One party insisted on a general conference between the theologians. The Catholics continued in their wish to take up the discussions at the point where they had been broken off at Augsburg. And then Ferdinand, perceiving that no good result could be expected from these debates, in the absence, too, of the Protestant chiefs, summoned all parties before him on the 16th of July, and adjourned the assembly to Worms.

Greater hopes were now formed, and greater preparations made.* The Pope dreaded such conferences; yet, as he found it no longer possible to prevent them, he determined to send his nuncio to Worms. Charles appointed Granvel as his commissioner, who opened the Diet on November 25, 1540, with the customary assurances of his master's ardent thirst for the concord of his German subjects. Some days afterwards, the nuncio,

* Luther wrote two letters of instruction to Melancthon, on the 21st and 24th of the preceding November, mentioning his suspicion, that the conference of Worms was intended by Charles to be, in fact, a national council, without the offensive name; and his belief that it would terminate in good, as the former Diet at Worms in 1521. His instructions were delivered with his usual force, and on his ancient principle,—to concede all human and indifferent matters, but to adhere unflinchingly to all that was divine.

another Campeggio, Bishop of Feltri, dilated on the paternal exertions of the Pope for the pacification of Christendom, and besought the assembly to direct its zealous consultations towards the glory of the church and the interests of religion. Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, who was present as envoy from the king of France, but who appeared, in fact, as a papal agent, delivered an eloquent discourse to the same purpose.

But when they proceeded from these harangues to the professed object of the meeting, insuperable difficulties were presently found or created. Granvel was probably sincere in his project. But the papal party, having ascertained its comparative weakness, and being resolved to risk no direct defeat, adopted for some weeks the expedient of a daily adjournment, expecting meanwhile some result from its importunities with the Emperor.* At length, on January 2, 1541, it proposed: That two theologians should be chosen to argue the disputed questions; that the minority should not be bound by the decision of the majority, unless the Emperor and the States in Diet should expressly so ordain; and that only the doctrines propounded by the disputants should be recorded by the reporters, not the arguments used in defence of them. The Protestants urged very conclusive objections against this scheme. The flower

* Luther never seriously considered the Emperor otherwise than as an enemy, and never expressed that opinion more strongly than during this very year. A letter written in the preceding April to J. Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melancthon, contained these words:—"The Emperor has been, is, and always will be, the servant of the servants of the Devil. *Cæsar fuit, est et manebit servus servorum Diaboli.*" Again, on November 18, to Melancthon:—"We know that the Emperor, the idolater of the Roman idol, has lost all his fortune to all eternity, since the time that he kissed not the hand only but the foot too of this latest monster, as this day declares and as every following day will still more strongly declare. . . ." (Nos. 1920, 1958.)

of their chivalry was in the field. Besides the disputants present at Hagenau, there appeared at Worms Melancthon, Capito, and even Calvin. On no preceding occasion were the evangelical doctrines so nobly protected, so assured of a glorious triumph through the abilities, learning, and controversial skill of their supporters.* On the other side, any antagonist array of acquirement or talent was altogether wanting; and in this dearth of intellectual aid the papists had again recourse to their veteran and gladiator—the man who had borne the brunt of their battles for so many years, and in so many places, and with such various fortune; and who was present and in readiness once again to make another vigorous struggle in defence of his ancient cause, before he should be called away to rest.

Eck and Melancthon were selected to dispute before the whole assembly.† The debate opened on January 13,

* There is a letter from Luther to Lauterbach about this time, on the subject of the great number of learned men who flowed into Worms from all parts of Christendom. Again to Myconius: “*Omnia ex parte nostra aguntur fortiter et sapienter; contra ex illorum parte ita pueriliter, &c.*” January 9, 1541.

† Melancthon “*Ad Lectorem de Colloquio Wormacienci, 1540.*” (Lib. i. Epist. 68.) “*Eramus eo missi, ut amanter et placide, sed tamen, sicut præsertim in Ecclesia decet, publice de controversiis inquisita veritate dirimendis conferremus. . . . Sed dum adversarii defugiunt publicam collationem, et inter se aliquos insulsos et flexiloquos articulos componunt, nos otiosi fere quotidie conveniebamus omnes, et de singulis controversiis summo candore acerrime disserebamur. . . . Audiavi Eccium gloriose jactitantem posse se utramque partem tueri. Putat de laude ingenii certari; non quærit veritatem, non studet consulere Ecclesiæ.*” It was probably on this occasion (and not at Ratisbon, as asserted by Melchior Adam) that, when Eck produced some original argument, which for the moment perplexed Melancthon, the latter said:—“*I will reply to that to-morrow.*”—“*But it is not to your credit, if you are unable to reply at once.*”—“*My dear doctor, I am not seeking my own glory in this matter, but the truth; to-morrow, by the will of God, you shall hear me. . .*” Melch. Adam. *Vita Melancthonis.*

on the subject of original sin ; and it had lasted only three days, when suddenly an imperial ordinance arrived to prorogue the conference. The parties were at the same time summoned to a Diet, to be held forthwith at Ratisbon, where the discussions were to be resumed in the presence of the Emperor. This triumph, if such it was, to the papal faction, was obtained chiefly through the representations of the legate—partly too, through the discouragements felt by Granvel as to any result from the pending discussions. The Lutherans, after a loud expression of their dissatisfaction, obeyed the edict and dispersed. The papists departed with lighter hearts. And thus abruptly and fruitlessly terminated the fourth assembly, which had been held within the space of two years, for the restoration of religious concord.

The fifth was near at hand. The Diet assembled at Ratisbon in the following March ; and at the first session, on the 5th of April, the Emperor made the customary professions of moderation and philanthropy. The Protestants, in praising his zeal and piety, expressed an equal desire for peace ; and they proposed, as the means best suited to that end, to resume the doctrinal discussions recently interrupted at Worms—thus, they represented, would the States of the empire obtain the clearest knowledge both of the subjects and sources of the difference. It was decided that a committee, composed of a very few members of both parties, should be appointed, not to argue the disputed questions, but to ascertain which among them were capable of being reconciled ; and make its report to the Emperor. And when the Protestants declared that the only object of all their researches was truth, Charles professed the same ardour in the same pursuit.*

* “ Assentimur imperatori, ut hoc loco colloquium instituatur ; sed ita ne condantur flexilolqui articuli, sed ut simplex veritas patefiat. Et

The committee was appointed—Melancthon, supported by Bucer and Bullinger on the one side; Eck, tempered by Julius Pflug and Gropper,* on the other; and while five of these learned doctors expressed at first some decorous reluctance to support the responsibility thrown upon them, Eck alone cast aside every pretence of self-distrust, and proclaimed himself a willing and zealous combatant.† Granvel and the Prince Palatine were chosen to preside over the conference; and some other distinguished members of either party were to be present,

testatur est imperator, velle se inquiri veritatem.” Melancthon to Luther. *De Conventu Ratisbon*, 1541. Epist. 24. The same, in his Preface to the Acts of the Conference, praises the clemency of Charles in referring the religious disputes to a synod, instead of following the papal counsels, and assailing them with the sword:—“*Diu pontifices conati sunt in Germania bellum civile accendere; extant enim literæ in eam sententiam ad quosdam principes scriptæ. Sed Imp. Carolus parci voluit patriæ; et ut ecclesiastico more dijudicarentur controversiæ dogmatum, jussit cogi synodos. . .*”

* “*Aliquid spei ostendit duorum præstantium virorum Julii et Gropperi moderatio. Ideo jam de certis articulis formulæ ut spero mediocres propositæ sunt. Multi præstantes viri ordinum omnium, etiam principes, sunt hortatores ut hæc dissidia piis modis dirimantur: et videtur imperatoris voluntas non abhorreere a modestis consiliis.*” Melancthon to Baldassar Appronnitz, Bishop of Vratislaw. *Ratisbonæ*, 1541. lib. iii. Epist. 45. Gropper was a native of Zorst, in Germany, Archdeacon of Cologne; and he had the reputation of combining a judicious zeal for the church, with an earnest love for truth.

† In his reply to Bucer’s “Acts of the Conference,” there is the following specimen of his ludicrous arrogance:—“*I offer myself, at the peril of my head, to our most glorious Emperor Charles and to the Catholic States, and undertake to defend all the points of doctrine contained in the Recess of Augsburg against Bucer, and all the fanatics who adhere to him, and all their preachers, as well Lutheran as Zwinglian, in the presence of a sacred council general. Come on, all of you together! make your onslaught on Eck alone! Ego sub periculo capitis mei offero me . . . omnia me defensurum in negotio fidei Recessu Augustano contenta, adversus Bucerum et omnes Swermeros sibi adhærentes, concionatores tam Luderanos quam Zuinglianos, vel coram sacro consilio generali: Agite quotquot estis! contra unum insurgite Eckium!*”

as witnesses of the debate. And on the 27th of April it was opened by a discourse from the Prince Palatine, in which the spirit of religious love and dispassionate inquiry after truth was, as usual, inculcated.

Then Granvel placed before them a list of articles, ingeniously composed, so as to evade as far as possible the most prominent points of difference. It is known in history as the "Book of Concord;" and Gropper is believed to have digested it, by the direction of Charles. It had been previously submitted to the pontifical minister, and after some unimportant corrections had received, as it would seem, his approbation. "The author of the book," says Melancthon,* "had so attempered Scripture to the prejudices of the papal party, that his concessions to us, if indeed he made any concessions, were only insinuated; while he openly wrested from us some of our positions, and involved some others in enigmatical ambiguity. However, he adds, in the beginning of the debate I passed over and dissembled much of this, through the hope of an amicable conclusion." It was no doubt through a similar hope, chiefly founded on this very flexibility of Melancthon, that the papists produced the Book.

The Protestants had intended to make their Confession the basis of the disputations. But, through courtesy to the Emperor, they yielded this point, and proceeded to the examination of the articles proposed on his part. These were twenty-two in number. The first four related to the creation and fall of man, the freedom of the

* "Ad Lectorem de Ratisbonensibus Actionibus, anno 1541." In the Acts of the Conference, published by Bucer, there is a "Responsio," written by Melancthon, in the same spirit; in which the Protestants declare their adherence to the Confession, as explained in the Apology, and censure all ambiguities of expression, as only tending to supply fuel for fresh controversies.

will, the cause of evil, and original sin; and they occasioned no controversy. The fifth laid down, in three propositions, the doctrine of justification; and on this too, after a short argument, both parties assented to the doctrine: That we are justified by faith through Christ, not by the merit of our own good works. Then followed the questions concerning the church. And, when an exclusive authority in the interpretation of Scripture was claimed for that body by the eighth article, and the power of private interpretation expressly denied, Melancthon prepared for resistance; for he perceived that no concession could be made on this subject, without surrendering one of the first principles of the Reformation, and restoring the spiritual despotism of the church. This article, as well as one on transubstantiation (the thirteenth), was accordingly deferred. The others related to baptism and confirmation, penance and absolution, marriage and extreme unction; to the rank and subordination of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, to the worship and invocation of the saints, to private masses, and to the discipline of the clergy and of the people.

On some of these questions the doctrine of the church was expressed with no little reserve and deference to the new principles, and to the spirit of the age and country in which "the Book" was propounded. It was declared that Christ, in delegating His power to the bishops, gave it not to Peter alone, though principally to Peter; that all were alike successors of the Apostles; and that the bishop of Rome was the first of the patriarchs, not in respect to the dignity of his priesthood, but through the extent of this superintendence and the prerogative of his jurisdiction, for the preservation of the unity of the church. In regard to private masses, liberty of conscience was conceded, to use them or not; the celibacy of the clergy was placed in like manner among matters not essential.

The Reformers did not indeed signify their express agreement to the propositions of the others on several of the questions in dispute. But after the first discussions, they demanded time to consider the whole subject, that they might ascertain, on further deliberation, the points of assent and dissent. And to this they proceeded, as Melancthon almost admits, with a mind even too prone to conciliatory concession. "But we always had this feeling, that differences were not to be nourished on slight accounts, and that no battle ought to be fought, except for great and necessary objects." *

Meanwhile the Emperor threw out to them two powerful arguments in support of those sentiments,—first, by alluding to the dreadful calamities of civil war, which must inevitably follow from the continuance of the breach; next, by declaring his own ardent desire for the reformation of the church, and especially for the diffusion of the doctrine of justification by faith throughout every part of his dominions. These artful suggestions divided the Reformers. Many were influenced by the first consideration; some professed to believe the sincerity of the second—those, perhaps, who feared the threatened war, but being ashamed to avow that motive, sought some decent pretence for submission. But there were others who followed nobler counsels. They insisted that the truth should not be sacrificed to any consideration of danger. They argued, that this projected union could not be obtained, as was now manifest, without the retractation of every contested doctrine: that they ought to consider, too, their own domestic harmony; that while they, in conference at Ratisbon, were making such and such concessions, their disciples

* Epist. 24. "De Conventu Ratisbonensi, A.D. 1541." "Semper ita sensimus, non propter leves causas alenda esse dissidia; tantum de magnis et necessariis esse pugnandum duximus."

at home were not prepared for any compromise, whence great intestine dissensions would doubtless arise; that the promised Reformation of the Emperor, and his zeal for the essential doctrine of their creed, were suspicious and illusory. At the head of this party was Luther, who, though not personally present at the Diet, yet exercised by his nervous correspondence the same sort of influence over his colleagues assembled there, as he had exerted from his "rookery" at Coburg over the negotiations of Augsburg.*

Under all these circumstances the Protestants returned an ambiguous answer. After some further explanations of the articles on which they were agreed, they observed that it would be no difficult matter to reconcile the rest; at the same time they reiterated their determination to adhere to the Confession of Augsburg. For the regulation of the ecclesiastical government they offered several general suggestions; that the gospel should be preached in all its purity; that the ministers

* Of his letters, No. 1987, (written before May 10, 1541) is addressed to the Elector on the approaching conference, and among other recommendations it contains this:—That he should closely watch Melancthon, on account of his all zu gross nachgiebigkeit. In No. 1992, dated June 1, he confidently predicts to the same, that, notwithstanding the good intentions of Charles, the conference would have no useful result. Nos. 1995 and 1996 are addressed, on June 17 and 22, to Melancthon, exhorting him to break off the discussions. In the former he says,—“*Dei non nostra causa agitur; ipse viderit, an ruentibus nobis, si voluerit, ipse quoque ruere velit . . . Oratum est jam pro Cæsare. Si nolit benedictionem ferat maledictionem. Non potest esse culpa solius diaboli Moguntini, si ipse non esset purus Hypocrita. . . .*” In the latter he expresses his suspicion of the Emperor in still stronger language:—“*Ego plane odium concepi in Cæsarem vere; qui laudibus et orationibus nostris factus sævior in nos peccat. Et agam siqua potero contra eum, quanta pro eo feci. . . .*” And lastly, No. 2000, (of June 29,) is a long and serious address to the Elector, in which he refuses to accept the four conciliated articles, and takes the whole responsibility of breaking off the whole negotiation upon himself.

should be elected, according to the ancient practice, with the consent of the people; that the marriage of the clergy should be permitted; that simony should be extirpated; that the young should be instructed in piety and sound doctrine; that the magistrates should perform their duty by abolishing superstitious forms of worship, and some others. These and similar proposals, if they had any precise meaning, did not, certainly, tend at all to the point at which the Emperor was aiming. And he being present, and not well affected towards the Reformers, and not loving them the more for their scruples in accepting "the Book" which he had prescribed to them, might possibly have proceeded to realise the sanguinary vows of Rome, if perfect concord in support of his views had prevailed in the papal camp.

But it was very far otherwise. Among the friends of the church, who were distinguished by various colours of zeal, the most fiery and uncompromising rushed forward at this very crisis, as if to thwart his designs and divert upon themselves the enmity prepared for their opponents. William, Duke of Bavaria, was at their head. He vented in public council his violent vituperations against all who adhered to the Confession; he absolutely rejected the Book* of the Emperor; he declared that no correction or mitigation of the pontifical system should be endured; that not one jot or tittle of the venerable established practices should be conceded to the adversary. These lofty conservative sentiments were hailed with exultation by the great majority of the bishops, who fiercely denounced both the Book of Concord

* "Ut infelici admodum sidere natum hunc librum existimari debeat; qui recens, velut in pueritia sua, omnibus invisus et clanculum educatus, postea adultior, causa maximarum calamitatum fuerit." Camerarius. De Phil. Melanthonis Ortu. The biographer relates that his hero was extremely terrified by some dreams on this occasion.

and the Acts of the Conference. Eck, from the beginning, had expressed the same feelings. He pretended to consider the Book as composed, if not by the hand, in the very spirit of Melancthon; and, having been prevented by illness from attending the discussions, he addressed to the assembled princes a short epistle in reprobation of that insidious production. This explosion of immoderate zeal destroyed at once any hope, if there were such hope, of an amicable termination. And Melancthon may not have been much deceived when he wrote to Luther,—“The event sufficiently proves that our opponents had no serious design of yielding anything, and that the conference itself was no more than a plot to prove the constancy of the Reformers, and to ascertain how far it was possible to cajole them. Of this even the most moderate of the party became at length convinced.”*

Still the moderate party, consisting of the Electors and other princes attached to the Catholic body, did not entirely desist; but adopting a middle course, which was, indeed, the only course now open to them, they marched, though somewhat more covertly, to the same end. They recommended to the Emperor (on July 2nd) to consult with the legate respecting the articles reconciled; and then, with the approbation of the same, to submit the others to a new discussion, or, at least, to refer them to the decision of a general or national council. The legate was Gaspar Contarini, one of

* Epist. No. 24, above cited. That which follows is addressed to the Emperor; and it treats the subject of the Book and the nature of doctrinal concessions in a free and manly spirit. Among other truths, not so trite in those days as in these, we find the following:—“It is no trifling matter to govern churches, since in these matters conscience must be attended to. And those measures which are enforced by mere human authority, without the support of sound reasons, tend more to increase than to remove controversy.”

the most accomplished, intelligent and liberal members of the sacred body, the boast of his native Venice, and the ornament of Italy. Of noble origin, of a strong and sound understanding, enlightened by the free study of philosophy and general literature, and of much experience in secular business, he was discharging one of the highest offices in his own republic, when, unexpectedly, without any intrigue, without any solicitation, without any personal acquaintance with the reigning Pontiff, he was invested by Paul III. with the dignity of cardinal. At Rome he preserved the lofty reputation which he carried thither.* Among his colleagues, he denounced with boldness the corruption of their own body. To the Pope he declared privately, as well as in his public capacity, that the Reformation ought to begin with the head. And, as he was unquestionably sincere in these professions, it was a proof of some magnanimity in Paul, that he bestowed his confidence upon so honest a counsellor. In private character he was no less admirable,—simple and industrious, severe without harshness, fond of truth and justice, and of the purest morality. He was inspired, besides, with deep religious convictions, and so impressed with the doctrine of justification by faith, that it was his ardent wish to regenerate his church upon that foundation.

Such was the man selected to represent the Vatican at that crisis—a crisis of more importance, perhaps, in the history of the Reformation than any which followed it; for the Emperor was decidedly pacific. There was a strong party among the Reformers not yet resolved on a perpetual separation from Rome. There were many moderate churchmen in Italy as well as Germany, who desired the amendment of the church. Contarini was

* “Caspar Contarenus, magni nominis cardinalis.” Sleidan, lib. xiii. ann. 1541.

the most eminent among them. And had it rested with any individual to modify, by personal qualities, the office that he then held, to bend the Roman hierarchy to any compromise, to seduce the more rigid Reformers to any great concession, or even to effect a reconciliation among the least violent of all parties, the man who could have effected that purpose was Contarini.

But he was trammelled by the principles, and thwarted by the passions, of his own party. In the first place, the Pope had given him no unlimited discretion. "We must first see—such were his instructions—whether the Protestants will agree with us on certain principles, on the supremacy of the Holy See, on the Sacraments, and some other points well known to you."* And thus, when

* "Videndum imprimis est an Protestantes et si qui a grémio ecclesiæ defecerunt in principiis nobiscum conveniant—cujusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro institutus, Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Sacramenta et alia quædam quæ tum sacrarum literarum auctoritate tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione hactenus comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus; quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur. . . ." See Ranke, B. ii. ch. i. Bucer, on the other side, was no less impressed with the necessity of establishing certain common religious principles, as the basis of an accommodation. "Certum est Germaniam salvam esse non posse, nisi inter se consentiat; nec recte consensuram unquam, nisi conciliata religione; nec conciliari hanc et sincere constitui posse, nisi prius . . . de generalibus et necessariis capitibus tam doctrinæ quam disciplinæ Christianæ conveniat. . . . Communia et ad fidem necessaria in primis constituenda crunt; satisque nos ducere utrinque oportet, si utrinque ea complectamur quæ Christus Dominus ipse commendavit et Apostoli tradiderunt, &c. . . ."—"Acta Colloquii Ratisponæ habiti," by Bucer; Preface. Still there is this difference,—the Pope's declaration is the edict of an uncompromising master; Bucer's, the opinion of a reasonable mind, neither fearing discussion, nor closed against conviction. This Preface is dated 4 Non. Septemb., 1541. The whole work was published in the year following. "The Acts," in 240 quarto pages, refer chiefly to the points disputed, and "the Book," in 56 pages, is among them. Eck published a long book in opposition to this, in which he attacked Bucer's remarks and

he allowed the article on the Pope's supremacy to be postponed, he exceeded his limit; and the form of expression, which seemed to him satisfactory on that question, was indignantly rejected at Rome. Stricter orders were issued to him in the course of the conference; and, when the matter was referred to his decision, his individual wishes and principles were so restricted, as to lose their force, and almost their identity. Accordingly, he expressed the sorrow with which he saw some doctrinal differences still remaining; and he promised to submit them, without further disputation, to the Pope and the Holy See,—to the end that they might be set at rest, either in the Council General, so soon to be assembled, or by some other method which might satisfy the exigencies of Germany and the whole Christian world.*

However guarded and general in its language, however conciliatory and abounding with promises of peace, his reply was, of course, conclusive of the fate of this conference.

At the same time, not quite unmindful of his own private and better resolutions, he summoned all the bishops into his presence, and harangued them at great length on the necessity of self-reformation. He exhorted them to throw off all appearance of luxury, avarice, and ambition in their public demeanour; to observe decency and discipline in the management of their families; to reside in the most populous parts of their dioceses; to confer their benefices on men of capacity and merit;

explanations, but seldom disputed his facts—which were, indeed, derived from public documents.

* “Cum Protestantes in nonnullis articulis discedant a communi consensu Ecclesiæ Catholicæ . . . nihil amplius de reliquis omnibus statuendum, sed remittenda esse summo Pontifici et Apostolicæ sedi, qui vel in Concilio Generali . . . vel modo alio magis opportuno . . . ea poterit juxta Catholicam veritatem definire.”—Acta Colloquii Ratisponæ habiti.

to employ their revenues for purposes of charity ; to select, as preachers, men of piety, learning, and moderation ; to establish schools and colleges for the instruction of the young, since it was by this last expedient, he observed, that the Protestants had won over so large a portion of the nobility : and he published some scheme embodying these suggestions.* Yet this proceeding, however excellent the intention, was only to re-enact in Germany the scene which had just been exploded at Rome, and that in a much feebler manner. And if the project of Campeggio was received with ridicule by all classes and sections of the German people fifteen years before, when Lutheranism was yet unorganised, and Protestantism did not exist, it was not probable that a discourse on the episcopal duties, pronounced in 1541, would either correct the one party, or satisfy, or even deceive, the other.

But the conduct of Contarini offended both. The Protestants rejected, of course, his appeal to the Pope. The Catholics, excited by the importunate orthodoxy of Eck, remonstrated against the sanction which the answer of the legate seemed to give to the reconciled articles. They represented that the doctrine of the church had been compromised, and that Pflug and Gropper had been overreached by the superior address of their antagonists. To this the legate replied, that he had not intended to express any decision on the subject, but merely to refer all the disputed points, as well those on which an understanding had been established, as those on which there was none, to the determination of the Pope and the see of Rome.

But Charles, menaced at that moment by a Turkish invasion, regarded this question in a different light, and

* "Acta Colloq. Ratisp. habiti."

most of the leading princes in the Diet were of his opinion. They decided that the Concord should be ratified so far as it had proceeded, in the vain, but not, perhaps, unreasonable hope that, by thus contracting the limits of the difference, they might, on the next occasion, extinguish it altogether. It is true that even this partial concord was only to be temporary and provisional, and subject to the final decision of a general council. But by another clause it was expressly provided—That if this council were not speedily summoned, the affairs of religion should be submitted, either to an imperial diet, or to a national council, to be convoked within eighteen months, of which the determination should be final.

It was in vain that the more zealous Catholics, some perhaps on religious, others on ecclesiastical grounds, supported by the direct instructions of the Vatican, protested against even the temporary establishment of the reconciled articles. The political portion of the party, whose exigencies obliged them to be moderate, were disposed to accept the degree of concord which was placed within their reach, and to turn it to the best account; and since Charles was at their head, and since the Protestants, with other views, supported the same policy, they carried their resolution. The extreme party, thus defeated, declared its determination to consent to no sort of change,* but to adhere to the edict of Augsburg, which had now supplanted that of Worms in the affections of the papists. While at the same time they pro-

* “ Non decere se, ut aliquam religionis, cæremoniarum, aut rituum, quæ per aliquot centenos annos durarunt, mutationem fieri, vel consentiant, vel permittant:” and again—“ Catholici status decreverunt se, gratia et auxilio Dei, constanter adhæsuros nostræ veteri religioni et veræ fidei, &c. . . .”—Act. Colloq. Ratisp. Bucer.

claimed, as loudly as any of their opponents, their wish for a general council, or, in failure of that, for some other assembly of conclusive authority.

Meanwhile the legate was indefatigable in his opposition to the decision of the majority, without being at all in agreement with the other party. In an oral remonstrance with the Emperor he insisted, as before, that the Pope was the only lawful judge of the controverted doctrines; and that it was an usurpation of the prerogatives of the Vicar of Christ, and of the universal church, to regulate those sacred interests, which were common to all nations, by an assembly of one nation only, legislating in Germany for the whole of Christendom. In a letter to the States of the empire, written on the 26th of July, he made a formal demand that the clause concerning the national council should be cancelled. He reiterated his argument on the injustice thereby offered to the Pontiff, and the invasion of the exclusive authority conferred upon him by God. Not thus satisfied, he published a special address to the Catholic princes, urging the erasure of the offensive article by the same reasonings, which, however harmless they might fall upon a Protestant mind, were in strict accordance with the acknowledged principles of the Roman church.

Contarini received an immediate and very sufficient answer:—That if this national council were indeed a thing so unholy and so formidable, it rested entirely with the Pope to prevent it, by convoking, as for so many years he had so repeatedly promised, a council of the whole church. But that, if he still delayed, Germany would assuredly avail herself of the only remaining expedient for the restoration of peace. It is probable that the real wishes of Charles were for the

general, rather than for the national, council. In respect to the latter he might reasonably fear that if the Reformers should establish their religious independence, they would advance new political claims, injurious to his authority; and the Pope had not failed to suggest such warnings. Still his more pressing desire was to re-unite the Protestants to the body of the empire, and he was then disposed to embrace any means which promised that result. Whatever might be the form of assembly finally adopted, it was certain that he would be able to influence, more or less, the course of its deliberations.

Before the dissolution of the Diet (on the 28th of July, 1541) the Emperor showed still further indulgence to the wishes of the Protestants. He granted them a sort of private edict of toleration, in which he left to them the provisional profession of the articles not reconciled; allowed them to reform the monks, though not to abolish the monasteries; to retain the revenues that they possessed, without further despoiling the Catholics. He permitted a conscientious change of opinion on either side; he suspended the decree of Augsburg, so far as it concerned matters of religion, and also all the decisions and processes of the imperial chamber; he prohibited the exclusion of any one from that chamber, on the ground of his religion; and commanded it to administer equal justice to all parties.

To make these concessions, which were somewhat more extensive than any preceding articles of concord, Charles may have been partly incited by the comparative moderation of the Protestants in the late negotiations. But doubtless his principal motive was the pressure of immediate danger. And thus, when he had given them sufficient assurance of the above indulgences, they, on their part, complied with the understood condition, and

prepared, with much zeal,* to contribute their contingents for the defence of the empire.

Thus ended, in complete failure, the last serious attempt made, during Luther's life, at religious re-union. It failed through the extreme difficulty of the undertaking itself, which was no less than to compile such a system of doctrine and discipline, as should be ratified by the Pope on the one side, and by Luther on the other.† It failed through the violence of the high ecclesiastical party, consisting, for the most part, of the clergy, supported, perhaps instigated, by two or three of the German princes. It failed through another cause—the jealous policy of the King of France. To him no sight was so delightful as the intestine divisions among the subjects of his rival; no result would have been so displeasing as a substantial reconciliation: therefore his intrigues were industriously employed to irritate the wound, and heat the spirits of those opposed to peace. Besides, the Protestants conducted their share in the negotiations with very great address; and though, on this occasion, they were, to all appearance, the more flexible party, yet, had matters been more closely pressed, they would have proved no less resolute at Ratisbon than they had formerly proved at Augsburg.

On the other hand, though Charles was really de-

* We find two compositions published by Luther at this time against the Turks: 1. "Vermanunge zum gebet wider den Türken. Luther. 1541." 2. "Eine heerpredigt wider den Türken. Luther. 1541." Hymns, and other religious productions on the same subject issued from Wittemberg during that and the following years. See the *Autographa Reformatorum*.

† In a letter written by Luther to Link, during the conference, there are the following expressions:—"I have no news respecting the concord between Christ and Belial, at Ratisbon. I have long foretold that it would prove that sort of concord; for the anger of God has come down upon the papacy, and the hour of its judgment is at hand." No. 2001.

sirous of the concord, he wanted the sagacity to perceive, or the courage to adopt, the only means of securing it. To a certain distance he advanced, but shrank away from the completion of the work. That which he doled out as a provisional and temporary indulgence, he ought to have granted as a permanent right; instead of partial reconciliations of doctrines and truces for particular objects, he ought to have issued a general edict of perpetual toleration. Nothing more was wanted for the immediate consolidation of his power in Germany; nor was there any other refuge in which the vessel of religious contention could hope for final repose, except the sacred haven of mutual forbearance and charity.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Another vain meeting of the Pope and Charles, at Lucca—Diet at Spire in 1542—the Pope offers Trent as the place of the council—accepted by the Catholics—the Pope's mediation between Charles and Francis—Diet at Nuremberg in 1543—the Protestants refuse the council—remarks—nepotism of Paul—another Diet at Spire in 1544—the result favourable to the Protestants—the peace of Crespi—all parties now combine for the council except the Protestants—Diet of Worms in 1545—the Protestants persist in their refusal—their negotiations with the Emperor—they are urged by the King of France—jealousy of the Pope—he adheres, however, to the council—which at length is formally opened—the colloquy at Ratisbon—dissolved—strength of the Protestants—conversion of the Archbishop of Cologne—the council and regulations at Cologne—introduction of Bucer and others by the archbishop—continued opposition and repeated appeals of the university and clergy to the Pope and Emperor—their replies—he is summoned before them both—he throws himself on the protection of the League of Smalcald—conclusion of this affair—remarks—the Elector Palatine adopts the Reformation, in compliance with the wishes of his subjects.

CHARLES having for the moment smothered, by the Recess of Ratisbon, the outbreak of religious discord, set out on his fatal expedition to Algiers. On his journey through Italy he obtained another interview with the Pope. They met by appointment at Lucca, on the 12th of September; and, after the customary ceremonies, renewed the familiar intercourse which they had formerly held at Rome. But this conference had absolutely no result. When the Emperor demanded the council,

Paul, though not blind to the necessity of the measure,* mentioned Vicenza, or made some other proposal, manifestly inadmissible. When the Pope remonstrated on the impolicy of the African project, and urged the defence of Hungary as more essential to the protection of Christendom, Charles declared that on no earthly consideration would he depart from his plan. Thus they separated, without any approach to an understanding; and it may be that neither of them at that moment was very earnest about the object which he more particularly pressed.

Ferdinand was defeated in Hungary; and it then became necessary to convoke another Diet, for consultation on the defence of Germany. It assembled at Spires, and was opened on the 9th of February, 1542. Many princes and prelates were present or represented there, and among them was Moroni, Bishop of Modena, legate of the Pope. The King of the Romans presided, and set forth in his preliminary discourse the great dangers to which the empire was exposed, and the necessity of immediate measures for its preservation. The ambassador of Francis, who was then the ally of Solyman, ascribed, in an insidious speech, the success of the infidel to the religious dissensions of Christendom, and urged, before all things, that these should be appeased and reconciled. Afterwards, on March 23rd, Moroni was invited to explain the intentions of his master. His address was divided under two heads. In respect to the Turks, he mentioned the offers of succour which had been made by Paul, and his vain endeavours to mediate

* On the 15th of the preceding June (1541) Ardinghello wrote to Contarini as follows:—"Considering that concord has not been established, and that toleration is most unlawful and injurious, and that war is difficult and dangerous, it appears to his holiness that recourse should be had to the remedy of a council."—See Ranke, b. ii. ch. i.

between Charles and Francis. Regarding the council, he declared that the Pope had at every time been most desirous, and was no less so then, of its immediate convocation, but that he had suspended his intentions, with the Emperor's consent, in the hope that the German princes would find means of settling their disputes by amicable conference. That hope being now extinguished, he returned to his former determination. The difficulty remained as to the place. Germany was, for many reasons, a country ill calculated for the purpose; while, on the other hand, Mantua, Piacenza, Bologna, Ferrara, offered many great advantages, and the Pope's decided preference was given to some one among them. Still, if the Diet thought otherwise, he would condescend to make one further and final concession to their wishes, and consider Trent as the appointed city.

Ferdinand and the whole Catholic party expressed their immediate satisfaction, and accepted the proposal. Not so the Protestants. Always daring in the absence of the Emperor, they rejected the council, both for itself, as the creature of the Pope, and in respect to the place, as not being German ground; and they further declared their determination not to consent to any mention of it in the Recess of the Diet. Regardless, however, of their proceedings, and fortified by the general consent of his own adherents, the Pope issued, on the 22nd of the May following, a bull for the convocation of the Council of Trent.

Soon afterwards Charles and Francis, equally anxious for his support, addressed to him, almost at the same time, two communications, abounding with reproaches against each other, and with affectionate reverence for the apostolical see; which latter profession Francis did indeed take much pains to accredit by the ferocity with which he persecuted his heretical subjects. Paul condescended

to listen to them both, and assumed at last in earnest the office of mediator. Immediately he despatched two legates, men of dignity, and character, and accomplishments, Contarini and Sadoletus, to the courts of the rival monarchs. And if those princes were indeed animated by one common affection—that for their ancestral church; if they burnt with one common hatred—that for the independent seceders from the church; or rather, if they loved in common the despotic principle on which the church was founded, and detested in common the broad and popular basis of the Reformation, what could be a more legitimate object for a pope, than to make those sentiments the means of leaguings them together, not so much with each other as with and for himself? What better method could then be devised for at length bringing to pass those measures of coercion and violence, for which Paul sighed no less deeply than his three apostolical predecessors?

The council was summoned for the November following, and the legates of the Pope, as well as the imperial ambassadors, presented themselves at the appointed time. But, as the war still continued, and as very few prelates attended even from the Italian States, it was manifest that nothing satisfactory could at that time be undertaken. And, though Granvel still urged that the proceedings should commence, if only in pledge of the good faith in which the assembly was convoked, the Pope decided otherwise, and adjourned, for an indefinite time, the opening of the council.

This took place in the beginning of 1543; and immediately afterwards (January 17th) another Diet met at Nuremberg. Ferdinand and Granvel were present. The Protestants remonstrated against the continued vexations of the imperial chamber, in violation of the

peace of Ratisbon, and of the assurances subsequently reiterated by the Emperor; and declared that, if justice were not done them, they would not furnish any sort of succour against the Turkish invader. And when Ferdinand replied, that the council already convoked at Trent would finally regulate all religious concerns, they rejoined, with firmness, that they did not recognise that council, and that they should not attend it; and, notwithstanding an ordinance published in the following July for a partial reformation of the chamber, they persisted in their refusal.

It would be a nice question to decide whether they were justified in this pertinacity, or not. It was not at all disputed that the danger was real, and, in regard to the eastern provinces, imminent; that all the States of the empire were constitutionally bound to contribute to the defence of the whole; and that the Protestants had at that moment no very weighty plea for their remonstrances—they had been subjected to no insult, they had suffered no particular act of persecution. But, on the other hand, they very clearly perceived that both the Emperor and King were in their hearts little better affected towards them than the Pope; that they could place no reliance on any earthly power, except their own; that the Council of Trent would furnish a plausible pretence for a conspiracy against them; and that the time could not be far distant when an appeal would be made to arms. In fact, some private feuds between members of the opposite parties had already broken out, which might be inflamed by the slightest change of circumstances into a general war. With this prospect before them, they doubtless determined to seize any available pretext for withholding those succours, which would not only have enfeebled themselves,

but also strengthened that domestic enemy, from whose despotism they had far more to apprehend than from the arms of Solyman.

Another interview took place during the same summer (June 21, 1543) between the Emperor and the Pope, at Buseto, a place between Piacenza and Parma; but with no more decided result than those which had preceded it. Indeed, in this case it is clear, that with the former it was then a more pressing matter to humble the power of Francis than to restore the authority of the church; while even Paul had a nearer interest than that of his See. Domestic ambition inflamed him more strongly than professional zeal; and, in his desire to obtain, through the influence of Charles, the Duchy of Milan for a member of his own family, he forgot for a moment his rage against the public foe. And thus, among the various instruments employed by Providence for securing the growth of the Reformation and breaking the storms which were gathering round it, the nepotism of a Pope was one. Indeed, in this respect, Paul was not less pusillanimous than the greediest of all his predecessors, and the general bent of his ecclesiastical policy was perpetually thwarted and counteracted by his private cravings.

A Diet again assembled at Spire in the beginning of 1544, and the Emperor presided at it. It was attended by an unusual concourse of members. All the Electors were present, and almost all the princes of both parties. The Pope did not omit to send his representative; and, to the end that the mercy of God might visit his creatures, and so many wars and heresies be at length extinguished, he commanded that public prayers should be offered up throughout all Christendom, and granted indulgences to all who should make their supplications for peace in church and state. Charles opened the Diet

on the 20th of February, by a discourse burning with indignant declamation against the King of France, whose unholy conspiracy with the infidels was denounced in language so fervid, as to move the sympathy even of the Protestant princes. Doubtless they had not forgotten the persecution with which he had scattered his evangelical subjects, and at length properly appreciated the faithless overtures of amity by which he had endeavoured to cajole themselves. Accordingly, they declared their readiness to co-operate with all their forces against him; they surpassed the Catholics in the ardour of their antigallican zeal; they discussed the justice of refusing him the very title of king, and stigmatised him as a renegade, a barbarian, an enemy of Christ and his church.*

A considerable time having been occupied by this and other civil transactions, Charles pleaded that reason for deferring till the next Diet all deliberation on religious matters. And at the close of the assembly, on June 10, 1544, he published an edict altogether favourable to the Protestants. He suspended again the execution of the edict of Worms; he prohibited any sort of vexation on religious pretences; he ordained that neither party should be disturbed in its possession of the ecclesiastical revenues; and in respect to the imperial chamber, he commanded that, when the time of office of the actual members should have expired, their successors should

* Among Melancthon's epistles, Edit. Lond. 1642, is a document, dated May 3, 1541, addressed in the name of the Protestants to Francis, entreating him to spare the lives of certain prisoners, whose only offence it was, "that they held the same opinions concerning the Christian verity which our churches maintain." The more constant the interest they had taken in the fate of their brethren in France, the deeper their offence at the cruelty of the persecutor. But it was not till the year following this Diet that Francis placed the crown on his savage orthodoxy by the massacre of the Vaudois.

consist of Catholics and Protestants indiscriminately, and in equal numbers.

This Recess gave extreme dissatisfaction to the party of the church. The German Catholics, with the nuncio, strongly remonstrated against it. The Pope addressed, on August 25, a long objurgatory epistle to the Emperor, filled with complaints and menaces—complaints of usurpation of the apostolical prerogative and ecclesiastical property, by laymen and heretics—menaces of the visitation of that divine vengeance, which in ancient days had so signally vindicated the church of God, upon the usurpers and plunderers of the existing generation.

To the Catholic princes and chiefs Charles replied, that the offensive concessions were extorted by the positive strength of the Protestant party; that they were necessary for the preservation of the empire; that, after all, they were only temporary and provisional, referring the final settlement of all religious questions to a future Diet, or council. To the Pope he represented, in general terms, the services which he had rendered to the Christian republic, and advised him to direct his reproaches against those who indeed deserved them. At the same time, the Lutheran writers, guided on this occasion by their great master and patriarch, assailed the pontifical brief with unmeasured vituperation, and defended their independence by expressions as warm and fearless as those by which they had conquered it.

An event, however, which changed the relations of the parties, and modified, indeed, the whole character of the drama, immediately followed. The mutual menaces of Charles and Francis suddenly subsided, and on the 24th of September they signed, at Crespi, a treaty, which, through their very exhaustion, promised to be durable. It was stipulated, that the two contracting powers should combine their forces for the protection

of the ancient religion, and conjointly importune the Pope to assemble his council.

Paul professed his eagerness for the same object. In fact, he had little ground for any personal apprehension from the council. And, as to the reformation of his court, which he may really have feared as much as he pretended to desire it, he believed that, whenever the numerous interests involved in that question should be examined and canvassed, so much dissension would arise, as to prevent any important conclusion. This result would be a triumph for the established system, and a confirmation of the authority of the See. There existed, moreover, some differences within the church, which no other authority could permanently reconcile; and, what may have weighed with him still more than all these considerations, it was now by no means improbable that, on his further evasion, the Emperor would assume the power himself, and exercise it with the approbation of a very large portion of the Catholic community.

He took his measures accordingly; and, on the 19th. of the following November, he issued his bull for the re-assembling of the council at Trent. Charles was not, perhaps, altogether pleased with this zeal. He would have preferred just so much reluctance in the pontifical decision as should have transferred to himself the credit of the act. He thought, besides, that an assembly more immediately convoked under his own auspices, would be more generally accepted by the German people. As Paul, however, had by his promptness anticipated this hope, it only remained to outrun him in zeal and assiduity; and by the energy and number of his ambassadors, everywhere proclaiming and recommending the council, to create the impression that the principal agency in this matter was in reality his own.

Meanwhile the Diet again assembled at Worms, on



March 24, 1545; and, in the absence of the Emperor through sickness, was opened by Ferdinand. On the dissolution of the last at Spires, the affairs of religion had been expressly referred to the consideration of that which should succeed; and therefore the Protestants expected some immediate discussions on that subject. But the Turk was still thundering at the gates of Austria; that was the more pressing consideration; and Ferdinand, while he admitted the necessity of some reform, and proclaimed the Emperor's intention to effect it, maintained, that they should refer that question to the council, then in the very act of assembling at Trent, and march at once, with unanimous resolution, against the common enemy.

The crisis was now at hand, when the temporising policy, so long followed, by the secret consent, as it would almost seem, of both parties, must terminate in some more decided course. Charles was free from his greatest embarrassments. The King of France was pledged to co-operate with him; and the council, so long the pretence for dissatisfaction and remonstrance, was convoked. The Turk was the only remaining obstacle, and now no longer an insuperable obstacle, to a general assault upon the Protestant party. On their conduct at this moment the future prosperity, perhaps the very existence, of the Reformation appeared to depend.

In their reply, on the 3rd of April, to the discourse of Ferdinand, they expressed their disappointment that, the present Diet having been expressly called together for religious deliberations, these should be again postponed. They urged, that it was now important to come to some more precise understanding on that article, which assured the peace of religion till the future council; for as to that which was summoned to Trent, they did not

recognise it; it was not legitimate; it was not such as had been promised them in preceding Diets, and they had frequently declared their reasons for refusing it. Wherefore, it was now become necessary, first, to conclude an absolute treaty, not dependent on any papal council, but permanent, till some holy and Christian method should be discovered of deciding the controversy; next, to carry the late decree of Spire, for the more effectual administration of political justice, into full and entire effect. If these two conditions were granted, they professed their readiness to take part in the deliberations on the Turkish war.

Ferdinand of course rejoined, that the peace of Spire was only temporary, and that the council, to which its existence extended, was then assembling. The Reformers once more reiterated their protest against a tribunal, in which their enemy and accuser would be their judge; they insisted that the repose of Germany depended on the continuance of religious toleration, and that the motive of the Pope for now convoking his council was to disturb that repose; and they demanded some positive assurance that their spiritual independence would be respected, before they would consent to furnish any military contingent. These discussions lasted till the middle of May, when Charles arrived at Worms. He professed his surprise at the obstinacy of the Protestants, and at the absence of all the leading members of their confederacy. But, as the danger from without still seemed the more urgent, he decided once more to temporise. He adjourned the religious discussions till the January following at Ratisbon, and dissolved the Diet.*

* Scultetus considers all the subsequent truces only as repetitions or confirmations of that of Ratisbon of 1532. "This peace, (he says, in Ann. 1532,) was repeated and confirmed at Francfort by the imperial ambassadors on April 19, 1539. It was sanctioned by the common

It may be that the firmness of the Protestants on this occasion preserved their cause—certainly it was submitted to a dangerous trial. When they refused to acknowledge the council, the Emperor recommended to them, in terms of perfect courtesy, and with a very plausible show of reason, at least to present themselves before it—at least to show some deference to it—to explain, in the presence of all Christendom, their motives for rejecting it. They had no right, he argued, to anticipate its decisions, to assume its injustice, to appeal from a sentence which had not yet been passed. To this the others rejoined, however, with the soundest discretion: That the question of their condemnation was no longer a question of the future, but of the past, since it was impossible not to infer the one from the other; that the Pope and all his adherents, as well in Germany as in all other countries, would constitute the one party—themselves alone, the other; that the only impartial tribunal would be one, in which the Emperor and the other Christian princes should preside, and the sole arbiter of the disputation be the Word of God.* In addition to their other perplexities the King of France, hitherto politically favourable to them, or at least neutral, was now as importunate as Charles in urging them to submission, and this too in a tone of remonstrance not far removed from menace. But they were not more affrighted by the one, than they were cajoled by the other; and they departed with the profession, that they looked forward, not to the Council of Trent, but to the

consent of all the orders of the empire at the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1541. It was prorogued at Spires in 1542. It was again decreed and confirmed in 1544. It was prescribed at Worms in 1545, and so continued until the German war of Charles V."

* Fra Paolo, l. ii. c. xxii.

conference of Ratisbon, for the restoration of the concord of the empire.

Meanwhile, the Pope was becoming day by day more jealous of these continued negotiations. His spiritual pride was offended by the repeated interference of the temporal authority in spiritual concerns. He even began to tremble lest Charles should find it expedient to follow the example of the English king, and, by a seasonable union with his subjects, to assert not only their spiritual independence, but his own. Wherefore he became more than ever desirous to effect, what had been the constant object of the Vatican from the beginning of the revolution, a hostile breach between the parties, and a consequent appeal to arms.* But Charles by no means shared those views. Doubtless he deplored the existence of the Protestant faction as the great calamity of his reign; but he dreaded its strength, its boldness and its organization. And, though his military forces had never been so disposable for a German campaign as then, he had no wish to employ them for the destruction of his subjects.

Meanwhile the legates and ambassadors, together with a large body of prelates, had met together at Trent, and were watching with intense anxiety the proceedings of the Emperor. And as the conference of Ratisbon was proclaimed for the avowed purpose of religious discussion, in the very face of an œcumenical council, many were loud in their remonstrances against so flagrant an usurpation of the spiritual prerogatives; and Paul himself once more hesitated, whether, even at that last hour, he should not withdraw his assembly from so rude an

* In 1545 he sent Alessandro Farnese on a special mission to the Emperor, at Worms, charged to promise the latter, that, if he would consent to make war upon the Protestants, the Pope would support him with all his resources, "so as to sell his very crown, if necessary."

atmosphere, and transport it back again under an Italian sky. But he feared to give such great offence to Charles. Besides the designs of his public policy, he was now seeking for his son the perpetual sovereignty of Parma and Piacenza, which he could scarcely hope to secure without the imperial aid. This motive is believed to have decided him. He published another bull, containing his final command, that the council should be opened at Trent, on December 13, 1545.

It may seem remarkable, that the Emperor prescribed certain conditions as the price of his consent to this determination: That the council should not, in the first instance, handle any matter of doctrine; that it should not touch in any way the Lutheran heresy; that it should confine its attention to the Reformation of the church. This seeming inclination, at so critical a moment, towards the Protestant interests, whether it proceeded from his fears, or from some latent hope that the religious dissensions might be terminated at the ensuing conference without pontifical interposition, under his own guidance, had certainly this effect—it obliged the Pope to be honest. Casting away every remnant of subterfuge, he caused his three legates and a considerable body of distinguished prelates to present themselves at Trent on the appointed day. A general fast was celebrated, a holy jubilee was proclaimed, prayers and processions, and all the customary solemnities were duly performed; and after so many years of jealousy and intrigue and dissimulation and dispute, the council, which was to fix the religious destiny of Christendom, at length existed.

If Charles had any serious expectations from his colloquy at Ratisbon, they were very speedily falsified. Some few theologians were indeed sent thither by both parties, but not the most celebrated of either. Judges

and presidents were appointed; the disputation was opened, on January 27, with the usual pacific exhortations, and continued for a few days on the questions so repeatedly agitated. But on February 15, some fresh orders for the regulation of the debate arrived, which were not altogether satisfactory to the Protestants. And, before any further instructions could be received, the Elector recalled his divines, and the meeting soon afterwards dispersed, without any open breach indeed, but without any amicable result. The dissolution of this insignificant meeting was considered an important triumph at Trent, and the intelligence was received with unsuppressed exultation by the dignitaries assembled there.

If the coldness thus created was at that crisis a matter of evil promise to the Protestants; if the confederacy of the two great continental powers, in ostensible cordiality with the Pope, seemed to threaten their very existence; if the council, entering on its deliberations under such circumstances, afforded every prospect of unrelenting and effective hostility, they on their side had gathered additional strength from other sources, and never, at any moment of their history, were so powerful as then. They were powerful, from the resolution with which they had conducted their cause through so many difficulties; not only maintaining it in purity, untarnished by concession or compromise, but confirming it by conventions, which acknowledged them as a political, no less than a religious body, which recognised their claims and respected their rights. They were powerful, too, from the consequence and number of their adherents, which had very lately been augmented by two electoral converts.

The first of these was Hermann, of Weiden, Archbishop of Cologne. In the year 1536 this prelate had

assembled a numerous council in his capital, for the purpose of introducing some necessary reforms into his diocese. The result was the publication of a large volume of regulations,* touching almost every point of ceremony and discipline, and tending to purify the established system and to obviate many of its abuses. But this was the limit of his design. He aimed at the regeneration of his church and he pursued it by the surest path; and this his first proceeding has received the general approbation of Roman Catholic historians.

For some years he rested there. But as the conferences and discussions continued, he became more and more interested in the questions agitated, and his original principles of ecclesiastical improvement expanded, as fresh light broke in upon him.† At length he determined to open an intercourse with the Protestants; and to that end he applied (in 1542) for the services of Bucer, and established him as a preacher at Bonn. In the year following he invited Melancthon and other distinguished Reformers into his dominions.

His next movement was made somewhat hastily, and, as the consequences proved, was premature. He convoked a public assembly, in which he proclaimed the necessity of some religious changes; and he directed his Protestant advisers to prepare the articles‡ which he

* They are given by the continuator of Henry, liv. 137, chap. xxvii. to lii.

† Roman Catholic historians impute his zeal entirely to his wish to marry; his extreme old age throws, perhaps, some discredit on that imputation.

‡ From a letter written by Melancthon to *Langus*, on August 8, 1544, it would appear, not only that those articles were unsatisfactory to the more violent Protestants, but also that they were composed by Melancthon:—“*Amsdorf* has sent me a severe censure on the Reformation at Cologne, which to *Luther*, however, appears mild; this sounds like the trumpet of a new controversy. If our *Pericles* shall begin to speak with contumely of that affair, I shall take my departure. . . . In the beginning

designed to impose upon his clergy. These he presented to the canons and divines of Cologne, requesting those two learned bodies to examine his doctrines by the test of Scripture and to render him the assistance of their counsels. They did not hesitate. With confederate zeal the chapter and the university immediately protested against the scheme, and they were supported by the unanimous acclamations of the clergy; so that the diocese of Cologne exhibited a singular phenomenon in the history of the Reformation—that of a spacious province containing but one avowed ecclesiastical reformer, and that one a prelate and a prince. To the projected formula of doctrine they returned, as their only reply, a counter formula, which they called “*Anti-didagma*,” and by which they designed to declare their direct opposition.

On the same occasion, on which they presented this reply to the archbishop, they besought him to expel the heretical preachers who had been introduced into his diocese. And on his refusal they took one further step—they immediately appealed to the Pope as the head of the church, and to the Emperor as its protector, against the dangerous innovations of their prelate.

All this took place in 1543. In reply, the Emperor expressed in general terms his satisfaction at the exertions which had been made in defence of the ancient

of his censure Amsdorf confesses that the doctrine of the articles agrees with that of our churches, but that some expressions are somewhat obscure. He misrepresents something that is said about free will; and he blames, too, this expression of mine—(*reprehendit et hoc quod dixi*)—that grace is lost through lapses against conscience. Lastly, he asserts, that the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper is not expressed at sufficient length. I am certain that there is no error in those articles; misrepresentations and verbal disputes cannot be avoided by any exercise of caution. I am not disturbed by this nonsense; but if they shall expel me, they will furnish matter of ridicule to our enemies.”

faith of the people of Cologne. Paul replied on the 1st of June, at greater length, and in more fervent language : That, amidst the afflictions occasioned to him by the apostacy of the archbishop, his purest consolation was derived from the firmness and piety of the chapter ; that to their exertions he ascribed the preservation of the province, and that the only hope for its future security was placed in their perseverance. “ Persist, then, in defending the cause of God and the Catholic religion, the true source of your salvation and your liberty. It is not, because you require my counsels, but because it is my sacred duty, that I exhort you to rescue the inhabitants of your country from the errors of a man who disgraces the title of archbishop, and whom you are bound to consider less as your pastor than as your foe. And in such hostility you may rely on the aid of my advice and apostolical authority.”

Other remonstrances, on the part of the clergy, soon followed ; and as the Elector continued firm, the others advanced to still more decided measures. On October 9, 1544, they assembled in a body in the cathedral at Cologne, and drew up with great solemnity a second appeal to the same two Powers, proposing at the same time to place their property and their persons under the protection of the Emperor. Yet even by this direct menace of revolt Hermann was undaunted. In a long justification, which he presently published, he disclaimed any personal devotion either to Bucer or Luther, but he asserted the certainty of the doctrines which they taught, and which was founded in the evangelical verity. He questioned the obligation of the edicts of Worms and Augsburg. He pleaded the authority of the decree of Ratisbon for the internal reformation of his diocese, and he vindicated the selection of Bucer, which he had made for that purpose, and in obedience to that decree.

It was in the summer of the following year, that the university and clergy presented their united remonstrances to Charles at the Diet of Worms. And with such willing attention did he listen, as to grant them his letters of protection and prohibit any interference with the continued exercise of the Catholic religion within the province of Cologne. At the same time, he summoned the archbishop to appear before him, in person or by deputy, that he might reply to the accusations of his subjects. Very soon afterwards, the Pope issued a similar summons, which included some few illustrious members of the chapter, who appear to have adopted the principles, or at least to have defended the cause, of their prince. Hermann then made his appeal to the confederates of Smalcald. They discussed his affairs at a meeting at Frankfort, in the beginning of 1546, and promised their assistance.

Matters were in this situation at the opening of the council of Trent. The Elector of Cologne was not indeed a member of the League, nor even a professed adherent of Luther; nor, had he been so, was he free to act with the whole force of his dominions, while so powerful a faction within was so ardently opposed to his projects. Still he was not an enemy; and it was no small gain to the Reformers, that so important a portion of the empire, hitherto arrayed in direct hostility against them, should at that crisis of their fortunes become neutral.*

* Afterwards, during the same year, 1546, he was excommunicated and deposed by the Pope. But the Emperor, not willing to drive him to extremities at that critical moment, deferred the execution of the sentence. And when the war was at hand, he addressed to him a not discourteous letter, requiring him at least to prevent his subjects from taking arms against the church. The archbishop obeyed: but that did not save him. For no sooner was the danger over, than Charles proceeded to enforce the pontifical sentence. The clergy exulted. But as several of the principal nobles rallied round their old Elector, partly

There was still another advantage which accrued to them from this affair. The Pope was much irritated by the too officious interference of Charles in a transaction purely spiritual. That he had summoned before himself a prelate of such high dignity on the charge of religious delinquencies, was considered at Rome as a dangerous usurpation of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and it heated the jealousy already, and from so many causes, existing between Charles and Paul. It was not to be endured, that the Emperor should defend the church in any other character than that of the minister of the vengeance of the church. It was his most sacred duty blindly to execute the decrees of the Vatican. But to exercise any judgment in such matters, to pass any sentence, or take any measures against a spiritual malcontent, was treacherous design, or impertinent presumption.

While one Elector was thus striving, in obedience to his own conscientious conviction, to introduce the Reformation into his States, notwithstanding the violent and almost unanimous opposition of his academicians and clergy, and unsupported, so far as we are informed, by any powerful party among his secular subjects; another, the Elector Palatine, was taking the same steps, not perhaps reluctantly, yet in avowed compliance with the general inclinations of his people. His first proceeding was to introduce evangelical preachers. Not long afterwards he gave authority for the communion in both kinds, and the marriage of the clergy. And lastly, on January 10, 1546, he proclaimed that the mass, according to the rites of Rome, should be abolished in the cathedral

through personal reverence for his great virtues, and as a civil war was threatened, he abdicated his see and crown on January 1, 1547; and died in peaceful retirement five years afterwards, at the age of more than eighty.

church of Heidelberg, and the sacrament administered in the vulgar tongue.

The Protestant princes immediately, and with many rejoicings, presented to him their eulogies and exhortations to constancy. The Elector replied : That he was warmed by an earnest sympathy with his venerable brother of Cologne, under the persecution by which he had been afflicted ; that among all earthly objects that which he had ever pursued with the strongest zeal was peace ; that he had long cherished hopes of the amicable reconciliation of the religious differences ; but that, being at length convinced that this could scarcely come to pass, and perceiving how great was the danger now impending over the faith, he had resolved to gratify, by unequivocal proofs of his conversion, the ardent aspirations of his subjects.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE DEATH OF LUTHER.

Luther survives most of his antagonists—Gaetan—Lorenzo Campeggio—Aleander—Erasmus—John of Eck—the works and character of this last—Luther's latest production—premature report of his death disseminated at Rome—he visits Eisleben as a mediator—his occupations—the progress of his illness—his last prayer and death—his body removed by order of the Elector to Wittemberg—the procession through the country—received at Wittemberg by the university, citizens, and his personal friends—*Note* on Spalatin—the sermon delivered by Pomeranus—the funeral oration by Melancthon—some abstracts from this composition—his sepulchral inscription—some estimate of his achievements—the principles broached by him—some further observations on his qualities, and the results of his labours.—Conclusion.

THE greater number of those, who had sustained any conspicuous part in the earlier transactions of this history, were now fallen asleep. Having discharged the offices severally assigned to them, they had proceeded on their fated journey; and the grave which closed over their ashes might have concealed the memories of most of them in a like oblivion, had they not been cast upon one of those periods of revolutionary convulsion which break in, like tempests, upon the ordinary progression of human events, and leave behind them such lasting traces of their operation on the destinies of mankind, as to give an interest to the petty performances of the humblest agents, even with a remote and intelligent posterity. For great events are, for the most part, brought to pass by the concurrence of little incidents and the combination of ordinary instruments; but when

the results are found to pertain to the perpetual interests of the species, the instruments become legitimate objects of permanent curiosity, and command a certain portion of our respect.

Among the various antagonists of Luther there was scarcely one who survived him. Gaetan, his earliest foe, died in 1534, a few weeks before Clement VII. After his unfortunate exhibition at Augsburg, he was censured by many of the chiefs of the hierarchy, but he was not disgraced at the Vatican: Adrian soon afterwards appointed him to be his legate in Hungary, a post of honour and of some peril. At the capture of Rome, in 1527, he contended by his master's side and fell, like him, into the hands of the imperialists. Yet, amidst all these fortunes and occupations, he found leisure to pursue the studies of his youth, and to multiply the number of his compositions. It appears, indeed, that towards the close of life he directed his attention especially to the interpretation of Scripture—a branch of theological acquirement which he may not have sufficiently estimated, till after his collision with Luther. Yet his hermeneutical labours, being guided rather by a close attention to the literal sense than by any blind devotion to the authority of the Fathers, were not universally acceptable to the learned churchmen of his day; and it is a curious circumstance that he attracted, by those productions, the severe reprobation of the zealot, Ambrosius Catharinus, the same who had assailed with the same severity the principles of Luther. So difficult a matter it was in that age to think with any freedom on that or indeed on any subject, without incurring the wrath of the monastic or academical champions of the church. Neither ecclesiastical rank nor merits nor services gave any security against them. The accomplished cardinal, who had protected from the invasion

of the heretic the most scandalous corruption of his communion, was destined, in later life, to sustain the reproach of heterodoxy from a still more faithful churchman. In like manner Erasmus failed to expiate his early offences by the zeal of his declining years, and incurred, amongst other mortifications, the censures of Latomus, the theologian of Louvain, the ancient antagonist of Luther.

Lorenzo Campeggio died in 1539. Three years afterwards followed Aleander. This last, the great papal champion at Worms, acquired some subsequent distinction, and his merits were rewarded by Clement with the archiepiscopal see of Brindisi. He was appointed legate at the court of France and was present at the battle of Pavia. After the Diet of Augsburg he was occasionally employed in Germany, for the purpose always nearest to his heart, that of foiling the attempts at reconciliation and maintaining all the animosities in their full virulence, till they should be finally quenched in blood. For this ardour in the pontifical cause he was recompensed with the purple in 1536. He was afterwards appointed to preside at the council of Vicenza; and, had his days been prolonged, he would have represented the apostolical majesty at Trent. His life having been chiefly spent in the conduct of great affairs, in the assemblies of prelates and statesmen and the councils of princes, he had little leisure, perhaps little inclination, for studious meditation. And thus we find that, except some effusions of poetry, some dialogues and letters on ecclesiastical subjects, he left behind no monument of literary taste or talent.

Among all the divines who defended the church during the period of her great calamity, there was but one whose name would have survived his own generation, had they fallen on ordinary times, or contended with

obscure antagonists ; and the fame of Erasmus would have shone with still more lustre, had he refrained from those rude broils and confined himself to the honourable department in which he had no rival. I have related how he withdrew from Basle, as soon as the Reformation was established there, and sang a humorous farewell to the city of his choice. But it was not a last farewell. When tranquillity was restored, and there remained no further fear of molestation, he returned to his ancient residence ; and there, in the July of 1536, he closed his days. He closed them an uncompromising adherent of the church in the bosom of a country of Reformers, a passionate declaimer against evangelical practices and principles among a people who had irrevocably embraced them. Yet such was the respect commanded by his literary reputation, such the regard won by his manners and accomplishments, such the pride with which he was adopted as a compatriot, that the inhabitants deplored his loss as a great national affliction, and celebrated his memory with such honours, as a grateful republic loves to bestow upon its departed ornaments. And, indeed, even as apostates from the papacy, even as enemies to the church of Erasmus, they did not misplace those honours ; and, if we could forget the malicious, though not unprovoked, effusions of the last ten years of his long life, and fix our attention on none but his previous labours, we should account him among the brightest instruments of the Reformation. For, though a more burning luminary rose at the appointed season and obscured his light, yet were many eyes attracted to the east by his peaceful star, and many minds awakened to religious contemplations, and many hearts prepared for the glories which were so soon to follow.

Lastly, John of Eck died also. In the February of 1543, at the age of only fifty-seven, he concluded his

noisy career; and his last recorded composition was his censure on the imperial "Book," propounded at Ratisbon. Many others he had published, in the course of his earlier controversies, on the disputed subjects—on the mass, on penance, on confession and satisfaction, as well as a commentary on the prophet Haggai and some homilies. But that which obtained for him the greatest praise and performed the best service for his cause, was entitled "The Manual of Controversies." This was a particular apology for all the disputed tenets and practices of the church. It supplied the accustomed arguments, so plausible to ordinary or prejudiced minds, against the principles of heresy and heretics. It treated the entire series of the subjects contested, from the sacrifice of the mass down to tithes, annates and canonical hours, and it treated them with ingenuity and address; and it was as useful, perhaps, to the one party as were the "Common Places" of Melancthon to the other.

Yet I have not observed that this indefatigable champion was ever recompensed with any ecclesiastical dignity or emolument. It may be, that he did not seek such rewards—that he was as disinterested in his defence of the church as Luther was in his aggression—for Rome was not wont to overlook the merits of her supporters; and during this period, she repaid with munificence services far less valuable than those of the professor of Ingolstadt. For, indeed, though he was vain-glorious and arrogant in the exercise of his powers, he was not deficient in scriptural learning, and was gifted even eminently with the qualities which form an accomplished disputant. His unwearied zeal hurried him into every field where the Reformers were encamped. Everywhere he was foremost in the strife; everywhere he contended with force and energy, and on more than one occasion with success. Germany was his usual arena,

where the brunt of the controversy was almost invariably sustained by him, while the proud and pampered dignitaries sat by, the silent representatives of the wealth and ignorance of their church. But in Switzerland* his voice was likewise heard; and there, indeed, the papal interests were never upheld by any advocate of any talents or distinction, except himself and Faber. Thus was he confronted in a long series of combats, during a space of twenty years, with all the chieftains of the Reformation: and though he was defending what we are wont to consider the feebleness of the cause, he never defended it feebly, or was overthrown with shame. The period of his humiliation was really that, in which he represented the majesty of Rome, and dispensed, in the ill-starred character of nuncio, her empty thunders. As the minister of her vengeance, he was despised and insulted. His proper position was that of her champion; to that he presently returned; and he maintained it with inveterate pugnacity, without any loss of confidence in himself, without any concession of the loftiest of her pretensions, even with his latest breath.†

* The mild Œcolampadius has somewhere described Eck as a man, than whom Antichrist had no more impudent bondsman,—“*quo non habet Antichristus aliud impudentius mancipium.*” Zwingle, in his Book, “*De Vera et Falsa Religione,*” dedicated to Francis I., in 1525, deliberately accused Eck of having formed designs to assassinate him, had he attended certain public assemblies. And I find in the *Autographa Reformatorum* twenty-six “*Axioms,*” addressed “by Baldazar Pacinontanus, the Fly, to John Eck, of Ingolstadt, the Elephant.” The work thus concludes,—“*Ubi est nunc sapiens? Ubi scriba? Ubi disputator hujus sæculi? Eckius? Veniat ad nos gloriosus Hercules ille Ingolstadiensis, veniat—et laudabimus eum.*”—Tiguri, Nov. 4, 1524.

† I find an epicedion on Eck, composed by M. Erasmus Wolphius and published at Ingolstadt, in the *Autographa Reformatorum*. It contains the following lines:—

*Eccius Herculeo domuit fera monstra labore,
Ausus et in Stygios arma movere duces:*

And Luther, too, was now fast descending to that same silent abode, where animosities are lulled and injuries forgotten. "Aged, decrepit, sluggish, cold, and deprived of half my sight, I had a right to hope that some repose, lifeless as indeed I now am, would have been granted me,"—thus he wrote to Probst on January 17, 1546,—“but I am as much overwhelmed with business, writing, speaking, acting, and doing, as if I had never yet acted, written, spoken, or done anything.” Yet it would appear that the very last of his works was a voluntary display of controversial zeal. Almost on the same day he published a reply to “Thirty-two Articles of the Theologists of Louvain.”* And, if he did not then confute them by any arguments, but was contented to oppose to them seventy-five counter-propositions, he expressed, in conclusion, his intention of pro-

Quos nunquam metuit vel centum millia, quamvis
 Oppositum peterent dura per arma caput.
 Stringebat citius per ferrea vincula captos
 Contundens manibus saxea corda suis.
 Nemo vel ingenio melior, vel promptior ore,
 Nec vultu gravior, nec fuit arte prior.
 Verba Sophocleo recitabat digna cothurno
 Atque Pericleis æquiparanda sonis,
 Nec superesse virum Germanas credo per oras
 Quem plus Romanæ Curia Sedis amet.

Two or three other elegies are published along with this.

* “Contra xxxii. Articulos Lovaniensium Theologistarum, M. L. 1546. . . . Dixi, dicamque brevi plura, Deo favente.” In the preceding year he published a long Tract “against the Roman Popedom, founded by the Devil.” It began, “Der aller-hellisch Vatter Sanct Paulus Tertius hat zwey Breve an Karolum Quintum unsern Heren Keysar zuschreiben . . .” and argued against the Pope’s exclusive claim to convoke a Council, and especially against that convoked to Trent. On May 8, 1545, he wrote to Amsdorf,—“I have determined to reply, but only briefly and indirectly, to the fanatics of Zurich; nor will I deign to read their writings, since by their own evidence it is clear that I am very far removed from their madness.”

ceeding with the controversy—"This may suffice for the present: shortly, by God's help, I will say somewhat more." But God did not sanction that design.

During the year preceding, a report, countenanced by his many infirmities, prevailed among the Catholics, that he was actually dead. Nay, a very particular account of the manner of his death was published at Rome, in the Italian language, and propagated on no less authority than that of the King of France. In this curious document* it was carefully related, with what penitent piety he had received, in his last moments, the sacraments of the church; how he rendered up his soul into her merciful bosom; how, when his hour was past, tempests arose and raged with long continued fury round the place of his sepulture; how, when his grave was opened, it was found destitute of his ashes—inso-much that the people, appalled by all these prodigies, abandoned their impiety, and returned with contrite hearts to the one indubitable faith. It was not long before Luther received a copy of this publication; and then immediately, with all the fire of his earlier years, he translated it into German, and sent it forth, with a few short notes, for the information of his compatriots. Yet these had scarcely ceased to deride the fables, when the event on which they were built did really come to pass.

The latest acts and words of those, whose singular qualities have raised them above the level of humanity, are commonly watched by their fellow-mortals, with a deep and thoughtful interest; and so it proved, that many minute particulars, relating to the death of Luther, were carefully compiled by his contemporaries. And since his is a name which belongs to every age, a heritage which history has transmitted to us and to our

* I find in the *Autographa Reformatorum*.

posterity, it will not be superfluous even now to retail some of the circumstances under which he departed from a world of pain and strife, to that eternal repose in Christ for which he thirsted.*

The last office which he performed on earth was one of friendly mediation. The counts of Mansfeld, having some difference about boundaries and inheritance, invited him to Eisleben, in the January of 1546, to decide it by his arbitration. Luther was not wont to interfere in such matters; but, as the place was the spot of his nativity, and as its interests as well as the honour of its lords seemed to be involved in the question, he consented. He was accompanied, on his journey from Wittemberg, by two of his sons and his faithful friend, Justus Jonas; and he needed such attendance, for he was feeble and suffering. He engaged, however, in the business on which he came, and in occasional conversation with important persons, and his health and appetite somewhat improved. "Here, in my native country (he used to observe) they know what food is good for me." This continued for some short time; and every night, as he took leave of his friends, he would say,—“Pray to God that the cause of his church may prosper, for the council of Trent is vehemently enraged against it.”

On Wednesday, the 17th of February, he was persuaded to abstain from business. He walked about the

* On May 1, 1545, he wrote to Myconius:—“*Fac obsecro ut me liberes ab istorum hominum incurso. Alia nunc mihi seni et moribundo sunt quæ agam. . . .*” And on the 7th, to Amsdorf,—“*Ora pro me ut quanto ocius solvar et sim cum Christo. . . .*” And to the same, on the 15th of June, while suffering much bodily anguish, he expressed his positive desire for death—“*mori cupio.*” Even seven years before, he had written to Probst (Feb. 21, 1539): “*Certe ego destituor vivibus; nec tamen cessant aut minuuntur pugnæ, hæreses et tentationes, ut, si adamus essem, tamen cogerer aliquando concidere sub onere, quod spero propediem in gratia Christi futurum.*”

room in his undress, and looked, at times, out of the window, and prayed earnestly. Some forebodings crossed his mind, but did not depress his spirits. He was even pleasant and cheerful while he said to Jonas, "I was born and baptized at Eisleben; what if I should remain and die here?" Early in the evening he began to complain of an oppression at his chest; but on its being rubbed with a linen cloth he became easier. Then he said, "There is no pleasure in being alone here," and so left his room and joined the party at supper. During this last meal he was sometimes gay, even jocular; sometimes profoundly serious—such as he had ever been in the unreserved society of his friends. He vented cheerful sallies, he cited several remarkable passages of Scripture, and more than once observed,—“If I succeed in effecting concord between the proprietors of my native country, I shall return home, and lay me down in my grave, and give my body to the worms.”

After supper he again complained of his former oppression, and asked for a warm linen cloth. But he refused medical assistance, and slept on a couch for two or three hours. The minister of the parish, the master of the house, with his wife, the town clerk, Justus Jonas, and his two sons, sat by and watched him. He was then placed in his bed and slept again. But about an hour after midnight he awoke, and, after giving some order to his servant, exclaimed to Jonas,—“Oh! Lord God, how ill I am! what an oppression I feel at the breast! I shall certainly die at Eisleben.” Jonas answered, “My revered father, God our heavenly Father will assist you by Christ, whom you have preached.” He then began to walk about and called for more warm linen. Two physicians presently arrived, and likewise Count Albert, accompanied by the countess, who brought cordials and other medicines. Luther then began to

pray, and said, "Heavenly Father, everlasting and merciful God! Thou hast revealed to me thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have preached, whom I have experienced, whom I love, whom I worship as my beloved Sacrifice and Redeemer—Him whom the Godless persecute, dishonour, and blaspheme,—take my soul unto Thyself!" He then thrice repeated,—“Into thy hands I commend my spirit; Thou hast redeemed me, thou God of Truth,—surely, God hath so loved the world.”*

Then, whilst the attendants applied their remedies, he began to lose his voice and to grow faint, and to make no answer to their importunate addresses. After the lady of the Count had given him some restorative, he uttered a faint reply of “Yes,” or “No.” And when Jonas and the minister raised their voices, and said to him,—“Beloved father, dost thou confess that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer?” he clearly and audibly rejoined, “I do.” Then his forehead and face began to grow cold; and though they moved him and called him by his name, he made no

* “*Mein himmlischer Vater, ewiger barmhertziger Gott, du hast mir deinen lieben Sohn, unsern Heren Jesum Christum offenbaret, den habe ich gelehret, den habe ich bekant, den liebe ich, und den ehre ich vor meinen lieben Heyland und Erlöser, welchen die Gottlosen verfolgen, schänden und schelten—nimen mein seelichen zu dir.*” These were his words, according to Justus Jonas; and in transcribing them I have followed, as I have almost always done, the orthography of the original. (Seckendorf, Lib. iii., sect. 36, § 133.) Sleidan (Lib. xvi.) amplifies the expression “*die Gottlosen*” into “*Pontifex Romanus et reliqua impiorum turba;*” and after “*suscipe animulum meum*” he continues,—“*Mi Pater cœlestis, etiamsi divellor ex hac vita, licet corpus hoc mihi sit jam deponendum, certo tamen scio, me tecum esse permansurum in sempiternum, neque posse me tuis ex manibus a quoquam avelli.*” I have not noticed the slanders propagated by the Papists on the subject of Luther’s death, after the event; as they are not seriously repeated by the most respectable writers of the party.

further answer; but, with his hands clasped, continued a gentle respiration interrupted by sighs. And then, amidst the deep lamentation of his surrounding friends, between two and three in the morning, he fell asleep in Christ.

Such was the narrative addressed to the Elector on the same day, February 18, by Justus Jonas; who likewise requested the commands of the Prince as to the place and manner of sepulture—for the Counts of Mansfeld advanced a natural claim to the ashes of their compatriot, who had returned among them, as it were to render up his life on the spot where he had received it. Thus, on the day after his death, his body was conveyed with great solemnity, an immense concourse attending, into the largest church at Eisleben; and there, after a funeral sermon had been preached by Jonas, it was deposited, under the charge of ten citizens, who were to watch it during the night. But the Elector decided, that the same which had been the field of his glory, should be the receptacle of his dust. On the following afternoon he was removed on his journey towards Wittemberg. All the citizens attended along the streets, and beyond the gate. There the countrymen, summoned by the ringing of bells, joined, together with their weeping wives and families, the sad procession; and a similar escort surrounded, during their whole progress, the remains of Luther.

On Monday the 22nd they arrived at Wittemberg, and were received at the gate by the senate, the members of the university, and a large body of citizens. Thence the procession moved to the church of All Saints, the prefect of the city, with the Counts of Mansfeld and their horsemen, leading the way. The rector of the university, with several noble students, followed the corpse. Then came the little company of friends,

Melancthon, Pontanus, Jonas, Pomeranus, Cruciger, and others, the tried fellow-soldiers of the departed, the veterans of the Reformation.* The senators, the professors, the students, and a multitude of sorrowing citizens closed the pomp. The body was deposited in the church, on the right of the pulpit, whence Pomeranus addressed the throng. And in this painful exhibition it was remarked, as creditable to the orator, that his feelings were more conspicuous than his ingenuity, and that his pious attempt to console the sorrow of others was little more than a hearty demonstration of his own.

Then Melancthon rose and pronounced the funeral oration.† This too was an unpretending production, free from all ambitious ornament in thought or diction, indicating that its author, though he might not rise to the greatness of his subject, was at least not occupied by himself. And as there can be no one incurious about a production, delivered in circumstances so singularly affecting—by the faithful disciple, over the ashes of his beloved master, by the heir of the hopes of the Reformation, over his father in faith, by the man, into whose hands it fell to establish the work and assume, as far as his powers extended, the vacant supremacy, over him who bequeathed that difficult office—I shall transcribe

* Spalatin was not among them ; he died just thirteen months before, having been born a year before Luther. As a medium of communication between Luther and his Prince he did good service to the Reformation in its early struggles ; and the mild and circumspect moderation of his temper qualified him exactly for the office in which Providence had placed him. He was a native of Spalt, in the bishopric of Eichstadt. Nothing is known of his history until he became secretary and aulic preacher to Frederick. He appears not to have made public profession of Lutheranism till 1523. He married in 1532. Towards the close of his life he composed a chronicle of the antiquities of Saxony ; and he left behind him an unblemished reputation.

† Both compositions are extant. The latter may be found in Seckendorf. l. iii. sect. 36, § 135.

that portion of it in which more particular allusion was made, and made without any stain of flattery, to the qualities of Luther.

“ God does not govern His church after the counsels of man, nor choose His instruments all of the same stamp. It is common enough for moderate and common-place minds to censure more ardent spirits, whether they be evil or good. When Aristides beheld the energy, with which Themistocles undertook and accomplished great projects, he rejoiced indeed in the success, but he wished to restrain the eager impetuosity of the agent. Nor can I deny that those very vehement agitations do sometimes lead to error—in the general infirmity of our nature no man can be spotless. . . . Luther firmly defended the purity of the faith, and preserved the integrity of his conscience. No wandering appetites were ever observed in him; no counsels of seditious tendency, for he was the advocate of peace; nor did he ever turn his ecclesiastical supremacy into the means of augmenting his authority. And in this I discern so much wisdom and virtue, that I cannot think it attainable by human exertions alone; the hand of God must be present, to control impetuous, lofty and burning souls, such as was that of Luther.

“ And how shall I discourse of his virtues? How often have I surprised him, pouring out his supplication, not without tears, for the universal church! Almost daily did he set apart a certain time for the recitation of some of the Psalms, with which he intermingled prayers and groans and tears; and he was wont to reproach those who pleaded occupation as an excuse for dispensing with more than mental prayer. ‘For it is to this end,’ he used to say, ‘that forms of prayer have been prescribed to us by Divine wisdom, that by reciting them we may inflame our piety, and profess with our

lips the God whom we worship.' Thus we find him, in all matters of public importance, firm and magnanimous, not overawed by clamour, not shaken by terror. For he rested on a sacred anchor, the aid of God, and held fast by his faith.

" Besides, he was remarkable for sagacity, so that in cases of perplexity he alone would clearly discover what might be expedient. Nor was he wanting, as many imagine, in deep consideration on the state of affairs, or in penetration of the desires of others. But, on the contrary, he was thoroughly acquainted with public matters, and had the most acute intuition into the feelings and wishes of all his colleagues. And, though the power of his genius was extremely impetuous, yet he read with the greatest avidity ecclesiastical writings, ancient and modern, and every sort of history, and with singular dexterity applied the examples contained therein to the circumstances of the present time. In respect to his eloquence, its everlasting monuments are extant; and doubtless it was comparable to the noblest exertions of the most renowned orators.*

* "Pomeranus (said Melancthon) is a grammarian, and explains the force of words; I am a logician, I make clear the connexion of things and the arguments; Justus Jonas is an orator, he discourses fluently and elegantly; but Luther is all in all; he is a miracle among men; whatever he says, whatever he writes, penetrates the soul, and leaves a surprising sting behind it in the very hearts of men." And Sturm somewhere writes:—"Luther is a master of our language, both in respect to purity and copiousness. All councillors, senators, notaries, ambassadors, lawyers, with one consent ascribe this praise to a theologian. . . Compared with his German Translation of the Bible, all others, whether in Greek, Latin, or any other tongue, are inferior in perspicuity, purity, correctness, similarity to the Hebrew original." Melchior Adam mentions that his voice was shrill and clear, audible far and wide; and that his eyes possessed such a leonine vivacity, that some were unable to encounter their full and direct expression. "*Statura justa, corpore robusto, oculorum leonina vivacitate tanta, ut eorum intentionem recta aspiciendo non omnes ferre possent.*"

“That a man such as this—gifted with the highest talents, instructed with much learning, exercised by long experience, adorned with many excellent and heroic virtues, and chosen out by God for the instauration of his church, and who embraced us besides with the fondness of a father—that this man has been called away from our presence and intercourse, is a source of just affliction to ourselves; we are as orphans, deprived of an excellent and faithful parent. But since the will of God must be obeyed, let us at least preserve the memory of his virtues and his benefits immortal among us. Let us recognise him as the saving instrument of God, and let us diligently learn his doctrine. Let us imitate his essential virtues, so far as our mediocrity may permit—his fear of God, his faith, his ardour in prayer, his integrity in the ministry, his chastity, his providence against seditious counsels, his thirst for information. And as our reflections are frequently directed to the other holy rulers of the church, Jeremiah, the Baptist, Paul, so let us constantly meditate on the doctrine and conduct of this man with thanksgiving and prayer, such as it becomes us now to offer in this congregation. . . .”

The orator then perorated in a fervent address to the Deity; which when he had concluded, amidst many tears and sobs,* the body was removed by several members of the university, and committed to the grave.

The inscription which was placed upon the tomb of Luther by the judicious piety of the university, commemorated neither any quality of his character, nor any act of his life—these were too generally celebrated to require any contemporary record, they were too deeply engraven on the everlasting tablet of history to need the perishable testimony of the monumental marble. It contained no other particulars than the date of his birth

* “Cum lacrymis et singultibus plurimorum.” Melchior Adam.

and death, and the mention of the place where he began and ended his earthly existence.

I shall endeavour to imitate, as far as may be, that discreet forbearance. At least I shall refrain from any elaborate eulogy, or any fastidious censure, on the character of that very remarkable man, who has thrown his light over these volumes. From time to time, as occasions appeared to require, I have ventured such observations as his conduct suggested, commonly in praise, sometimes in reproach, indifferent to any consideration, except that of justice. But it is no grateful office to expose the blemishes which disfigure a great reputation; and if historical truth demand that they be honestly exposed, in no severe but in no flattering spirit, yet may we not dismiss them from our memories, when the debt has been paid and the passing rebuke administered, and fix our permanent reflections on what has been glorious and good? even as the traveller, whose contemplation of the remote prodigies of art and nature may have been interrupted by casual perils or vexations, permits not the recollection of his sublime enjoyments to be troubled by any peevish thought of petty transient evils, but consecrates all the chambers of his memory to the objects of his admiration and love.

In this spirit let us stand before the monument of Luther. Let us remember that, in a season of universal peace and obsequious submission, he rose up against the most degrading despotism ever imposed upon Christian man, and that he rose alone; that he was himself a member of the most corrupt portion of the dominant communion, and a minister at its altars; that he was of humble condition, without authority, without protection; that he was moved by no discoverable incentive, except an overwhelming sense of religious and moral duty. Let us remember that even then, in the hour of his

weakness and uncertainty, he was subjected to the two dangerous trials of menace and flattery, both proceeding from the agents of that spiritual power to which he was bound by education, prejudice, habit, and which was deemed omnipotent upon earth; and that he resisted both those trials.

He brought to light some new principles, and proclaimed them, when he had scarcely one avowed supporter, before the edge of the double sword—principles which were then decried as factious and destructive, but which have long been received as the substantial basis of religious liberty and civil subordination—That Scripture was the only test of truth; that the interpretation of Scripture was of private right and privilege; that conscience had her prerogatives, which were superior to the power of kings; that despotism, whether spiritual, political, or intellectual, was adverse to the will of God, and to the happiness and dignity of mankind.

On this foundation, and by these energies, he raised an independent communion, and then, by the exercise of much sound discretion, he directed, confirmed, and preserved it. On every occasion of impending peril, whether through the insolence of foes or the infirmity of friends, he was at hand, in action, writing, speaking, uttering defiance, or inspiring resolution. His courage was ever most conspicuous when it was most necessary; his judgment was commonly most correct on the greatest questions, and in the most critical emergencies. Thus he acquired an authority over his people almost unbounded—the authority of influence, resting on the consciousness of moral inferiority in those who acknowledged it; and he maintained it, amidst many divisions and perplexities, with little diminution, even to the end of his life.

He was entirely free from the most remote suspicion

of pecuniary motives.* His ambition—for he was ambitious—was not the vulgar craving after titles and dignities, commonly so designated, but the desire to acquire renown by great actions, and to establish for everlasting ages a monument of his philanthropy and his power,—to establish it, not by physical agency, the ordinary means of illustrious exploits, but by the arts of peace—by discussions, by writings, by education, by the patient co-operation of regenerate Christianity with reason as her handmaid. And it is not, perhaps, presumptuous to conclude, that his exertions were approved, and his vows accepted by the God of mercy. For, if his days were not prolonged to any unusual duration, yet was his departure neither premature, nor unseasonable, even to himself. He did not live to see the troubles of his church; he did not witness the visitation which more than all things he had deprecated; he did not

* During a dangerous illness, in 1527, he made the following will:—
“ Lord God, I thank thee that thou hast appointed me to be poor upon earth and pennyless. I have neither house, lands, possessions, nor money to leave behind me. Thou hast given me a wife and children; I restore them unto thee: nourish, instruct, preserve them as thou hast hitherto done unto me. Oh! thou Father of the fatherless, and protector of widows!” (Melchior Adam Vita Luther). His last will seems to have been made on September 16, 1542, in which he bequeathed a small farm at Zeulsdorf to his wife, with many expressions of ardent affection and praise. What is peculiar in this matter is, that he refused the accustomed services of a notary:—“ I am notorious enough, he said, in Heaven, on earth, and in hell; surely my single testimony may be believed in this affair, since God of his fatherly mercy has entrusted to me, miserable sinner as I am, the Gospel of his Son, and given me grace to be so true to it, that many have received it through me, and acknowledge me to be the teacher of truth. Why, then, in so small a matter as this, should not a witness of my signature suffice, who would attest,—This is the signature of Dr. Martin Luther, the notary of God, and the witness of His gospel?” Besides three sons, John, Martin, and Paul, he left behind him two daughters, Margaret and Ann. His wife survived him six years.

behold the banner of the Reformation rent and stained with blood, and for a season trampled under foot by the foes of God and man.

Let us repose in the brightness of this general retrospect and forget the passing shadows which interrupt it. The men who effect great and useful changes are great. And since these can scarcely be brought to pass without some manner of violence, through the violence of the interests and prejudices always opposed to them, so is it very difficult for any commanding character to be altogether free from reproach. The qualities required for the accomplishment of mighty revolutions are scarcely compatible with that severe, scrupulous self-control, which, while it guards against offence, represses audacity, and levels those very inequalities in the mind, which are the signs and elements of its grandeur. He, whose object it is to reform his species—to purify their faith, to amend their morals, to exalt their intellect, to rescue them from any debasing tyranny, spiritual or temporal, to elevate the oppressed at the expense of the oppressors, to improve the destinies of all future generations by the sacrifice of the pride, or profits, or prejudices of the dominant portion of his own—he who would accomplish this, and who aspires, besides, to open the path with his own resolute hands, and to see with his own eyes the sure foundation of his work, will never succeed by moderate measures, or a temporising policy.

And Luther effected this; at least, to a great extent, he saw his principles acknowledged and his projects realised. He was far, indeed, from establishing the practice of perfect religious toleration, nor did he even understand its principle. He could not perceive that the privilege, which he claimed for himself belonged, by the same right, to all mankind. He was placed on the

very precincts of the ancient tyranny ; and he was partially blinded by the most plausible prejudice of the church which he had served. Some generations were yet to pass, amidst the crimes of intestine strife and through the blood of innumerable victims, before man, in his madness, could be brought to believe, that doctrinal differences are compatible with the mutual exercise of Christian benevolence and the equal enjoyment of civil and social rights.

But this truth was not discovered by Luther. Neither was it within his capacity to foresee that very general regeneration of the Roman Church, of which some of the seeds were sown before his death, and which preserved to her more than half her empire. He considered her as uprooted and destroyed ; he fondly imagined that the holier cause, having triumphed over its first and most dangerous obstacles, would proceed from conquest to conquest, until Babylon should be made a desolate waste. He knew not how strong were her internal energies—how manifold the sources of her vitality.

Thus far his expectations were deceived. Yet was it he who prepared, by God's gracious providence, the path for all that followed. If, in after ages, some wiser principles prevailed, which Luther had not revealed, yet was it he who kindled the light, by which they were at length discovered. If the Church of Rome called forth from the sepulchre, where she had so long concealed it, one doctrine of essential truth, if she abolished some superstitious practices, if she purified the morals and re-animated the enthusiasm of her ministers and emissaries, it was because Luther had raised the storm, which compelled her to seek her safety in self-amendment. Had that port been the refuge of her choice, had her penitence been voluntary, had her partial return to purity proceeded from the love of purity, she would

have performed ages earlier, what she did not at last perform, till his hand had encompassed her with perils, and driven her to the very verge of perdition.

But the most remarkable fact in the history of the Reformation, and, in my opinion, one of the most so in the history of the world, still remains to be mentioned—that the limits which the Reformation won while Luther lived, were very nearly those which divide the two religions at this day. Almost all that was accomplished before his death endured; almost all that was afterwards achieved was wrested back again by Rome. The enthusiasm of a single generation attained, under his guidance, the prescribed boundaries. No exertions of his disciples, no reverence for his name and virtues, no wider diffusion of faith and knowledge and civilisation and commercial activity and philosophical truth, during the course of three centuries of progressive improvement, have made any lasting additions to the work which he left. Such, as when it passed from the hands of its architect, or very nearly such, are its dimensions now. The form, indeed, is somewhat altered, and the part, which he considered as exclusively sacred, has been much narrowed by the change. But to the uncompromising, unrelenting enemy of Rome it was an immortal triumph, that he had extorted from her, with his own hands, all that she was ordained, so far as we yet have seen, to lose, and that he witnessed the utmost humiliation to which, even to this hour, it has pleased Providence permanently to reduce her.

It is not that the prolongation of his life would have enlarged his conquests. The Romans, indeed, and the monks and all the hierarchy of Trent vented the most malicious exultation, on the intelligence of his death. And even some Reformers,—though Melancthon deplored that event in the deepest tones of public and

private sorrow,—yet some of the more pacific section of the Reformers believed, that the only insuperable obstacle to a re-union with Rome was removed: so general was the impression, even then, that the durability of the Revolution was involved in the man, who was God's ostensible instrument in producing it. But this was not so. Luther had fulfilled his office; he had placed the fabric on so solid a basis that it depended not even on himself for its safety. By the further continuance of an existence, which he no longer loved, he would have endured some fresh sufferings, both in body and spirit, but he could have effected no important good; and it was in mercy that he was called away, even when he was called, to his everlasting habitation.

APPENDIX.

I.

Luther to Staupitz, ex MS. D. Bertrami.

.... "UNUM autem te oro per viscera Christi, ne facile credas delatoribus nostris, sive adversus Wincleslaum (is erat Prior, cujus ab initio meminit) sive erga me. Nam quod tu scribis, ea jactari ab iis qui lupanaria colunt; et multa scandala ex recentioribus meis scriptis orta, neque miror, neque metuo. Certe nos hic egimus et agimus, ut sine tumultu purum verbum publicemus apud homines, quo et boni et mali utantur. Scis, quam non sit in nostra potestate. Nam coelibatum istum jucundum, tum missarum impietatem et religionum tyrannidem, quicquid per homines invectum et adversus sanam doctrinam erectum est, proposuimus persequi verbo, facturi quod Christus prædixerit, angelos suos collecturos de regno suo omnia scandala. Destruendum est, mi pater, regnum illud, abominationes et perditiones Papæ, cum toto corpore suo. Atque id agit jam sine nobis, sine manu, solo verbo; finis ejus venit coram Domino. Res est supra captum et sensum nostrum, ideoque non est quod mirer, pro magnitudine rei magnos animorum motus magna scandala, magna portenta oriri. Non turbent te, mi pater, hæc omnia. Ego bene spero. Consilium Dei in his rebus, et manum ejus magnam vides. Memento quam ab initio mea causa semper formidolosa et intolerabilis visa sit mundo, et tamen de die in diem prevaluit. Prævalebit et hoc quem tu male metuis modo, sustine parumper. Satanas sentit vulnus suum, ideo sic furit et miscet omnia. Sed Christus, qui cœpit, conteret eum, frustra renitentibus omnibus portis inferni."—Ap. Seck. l. i. p. 48.

EXTRACTS FROM LUTHER'S PRELECTIONS ON ISAIAH.

Tentatio et afflictio a sensu peccati.

"Si igitur nullæ aliæ essent calamitates, quæ vitam hanc nobis invisam facerent, certe peccata, et in primis facilis hic in præsumptionem lapsus, odium hujus vitæ afferre nobis debebant. Singulæ ætates sua sentiunt incommoda. Juvenes libido vexat, quæ vix uxore ducta extin-

guitur. In virili ætate opes quærentur et cumulantur et crescit avaritia. Si quis bene et honeste vixit, recte administravit officium suum; fuit bonus magistratus, parochus bonus, &c., philautia oritur, quæ proprie ad senes, ultra avaritiam, pertinet. Sic vita nostra non solum peccat, sed est ipsum peccatum. Ad hæc accedunt tot alia mala. Puerilis ætas omnium injuriis obnoxia est; juvenilis omnibus periculis; virilis omnibus morbis et vitiis; et tamen tot malis non potest dura hominum cervix domari et frangi; quantumvis oppressa calamitatibus et peccatis superbimus, præsumimus, Deum et judicium Dei contemnimus, ruimus in varia et gravia peccata. Desperandum igitur est, nos sine peccatis in hac carne vivere posse et simplici confessione dicendum, 'O Domine Jesu! quoties et quam graviter peccavi, tu vides, ego non possum omnia videre, ignosce,' " &c.

.

Descriptio monachatus sui.

"Ego quidem cum essem monachus valde defatigabar per quindecim fere annos, quotidie sacrificando, macerando me jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, et longe aliis gravissimis operibus; quia serio cogitabam de justitia per mea opera adipiscenda, nec putabam possibile esse ut unquam obliviscerer hujus vitæ. At nunc, Dei gratia, oblitus sum. Memini quidem adhuc ejus carnificinæ, sed non sic ut existimem redeundum ad illum carcerem; quanquam carnaliter loquendo non erat carcer, sed delicatum vitæ genus, remotum ob omnibus illis molestiis, quas vel politia vel œconomia infinitas habet. Carcer tamen fuit bonis hominibus, qui non tantum de ventre cogitabant, sed cupiebant salvari."

II.

Relatio Militiæ de actis cum Eccio.

"Inveni Lipsiæ Eccium vehementer clamantem et minantem (mit grossen geschrey und pochen). Invitavi eum ad convivium, nihilque omisi quo propositum ejus explorarem. Inter pocula autem alacriter hausta narrare statim et magnifice de mandatis Romæ acceptis cœpit et quomodo Martinum in ordinem redigere vellet (wie er ihn fñhren wolte). Retulit ut die 21 Septembris Misnæ, die 25 Marsburgi, die 29 Brandenburgi, publicari et affigi Bullam fecerit. Exemplum ejus auscultatum, quod mitto, mihi exhibuit; magna cum pompa ostentat Bullam (macht ein gross gepränge damit). Hospitium habet apud præfectum commeal-publi (im Geleite). Georgius Dux mandavit Senatui, ut ei pocu-

lum deauratum multosque aureos donaret, sed non obstante publica securitate et Bulla, die Michaelis boni quidam juvenes, (gute fromme kinder) schedulas decem locis affixerunt, (*earum exemplum addere se scribit, quod tamen non invenio,*) in quibus ei minati sunt. His perterritus in Monasterium Paulinum se recepit, neque conspici vult. Quæstus est apud Cæsarem Pfluggium (*Julii, credo, patrem, Capitaneum Lipsiensem*) et a Rectore Academico mandatum ad compescendos eos, a quibus infestantur, impetravit, (*Hujus quoque exemplum allegat, quod ilidem deest*) sed nihil profecit; composuerunt carmen de eo, quod in plateis decantant. Vehementer angitur, ac animum ac minacitatem remisit. Quotidie hostiles diffidationes (*Fehde-Brieffe*) in monasterium illi mituntur (man sagt ihm leib und guth ab). Plures quam centum et quinquaginta studiosi Wittenbergenses hic sunt, valde in eum concitati. Hodie libellum contra Lutherum publicavit, quem mitto. Alium bonus ille monachus (*Alfeldensis, ut puto*) edit, sed unus tantum quaternio prodiit, quem addo.”—Ap. Seck. lib. i. p. 116.

III.

EXTRACTS FROM “SPIEKER’S GESCHICHTE DR. MARTIN LUTHER.”

BOOK V.

“They were friends even to death. Luther, a master in German speech, Melancthon in Greek and Latin; the former full of fire and strength, the latter of light and clearness; the one rich in strong feelings, in noble thoughts and worthy deeds, the other armed with copious learning, with a deep and noble spirit, and earnest uprightness of life. So they joined hands in a faithful bond, broke in pieces the chains in which hierarchical despotism had bound the inquiring spirit of man, opened new paths in every branch of knowledge to the impulse of improvement, and obtained for the world the precious possession of free thought, and a purified evangelical faith. Wherever Luther’s name is extolled for great actions, there may also be praised the quiet and sure operation of Melancthon. Neither one without the other could have perfected the work. One had need of the other. One completed the other. . . .”

BOOK VI.

After describing the burning of the bull at Wittemberg, Spieker observes:—

“When one considers how a man of such power, eloquence, and love for truth and right must seize and inflame young minds, one cannot be

surprised at the enthusiasm and sincere veneration of the students for their celebrated teacher. Even by means of those young friends, who came from far and near to Wittemberg, and carried home the inspiring doctrines they had heard, Luther had gained thus much for the quick diffusion and wide operation of his religious and ecclesiastical reform. He who wishes to accomplish a great and profitable work for the present generation and posterity must turn with warmth and energy to the young."

"The burning of the Decretals made Luther many secret enemies among the lawyers, who found an inexhaustible fund of profit in the ecclesiastical law. Even two of his own Wittemberg associates, doctors of law, Henning Goden and Jerome Schurff, exclaimed against that violent act. They thought that the prosperity of the state would be at an end if the church laws were suppressed; that the whole process by which the greatest part of the Decretals was filled would be destroyed; so much was useful in the canon law, that it should not, on account of one fault, be abrogated; besides, the canon law was too closely connected with legal practice for one to remain without the other. So the lawyers, from not understanding what the time required, and not entering into the extensive view of church reform, hindered the so necessary reformation of ecclesiastical and civil law. Luther often said, the jurists had as much need of a Luther as the theologians. And it is much to be lamented that some considerate and enterprising man, uniting a sense of religion with a knowledge of law, did not lead the lawyers of the day out of their common track, and frame a church law which, out of the best parts of the canon law and the clearest conception of a union between church and state, should have founded such a constitution on the principles of the reformation as would have made it possible for a clerical life to be active and public. The obstinate retention of the old Romish canon law prevented the blessings of the Reformation from being fully diffused in Protestant countries, and the great work was partial and circumscribed.

"The necessity of a Protestant church law was afterwards felt most strongly; but, as it could not be brought into connexion with the civil law, it was at last entirely absorbed by it, and in this manner the needful union between church and state was lost; both gradually withdrew from each other, and pursued their own way, which not unfrequently led to quarrels.

"The church was compelled to serve the political power, in order to secure her existence. She had no judgment seat where her complaints would be heard, no advocate to protect her from injustice and outrage,

no constitution by which she could act on the religious and moral life of Christians. Luther's last years were much embittered by this unhappy situation of things, and the church must even now severely feel the supineness and obstinacy of the lawyers of that day."

"Luther had nowhere found a hearing for his petitions and complaints. The Pope answered them with threats and taunts, and employed his ministers in silencing the presumptuous heretical monk. Luther well knew the destructive schemes which were plotting in the holy city. The German bishops considered the cause of the Pope more profitable than the cause of God, and made the holy zealot for the cause of religion and truth bitterly feel their hatred. The Emperor, busied in worldly matters, did not even answer his supplication. His enemies, though often humbled, continually increased in loudness, vehemence, and anger. His own prince, though he might never have lent himself to the execution of the unjust sentence, was unwilling to incur danger. In the people he had the truest friends, and it was plain human reason which most quickly understood the truth of his doctrines. At this time the German knight-hood, which had never borne a disgraceful yoke, and honoured the name of freedom, came forward to console him, and offered him security and friendship.

"Then he determined that his safest plan was to consign to his fatherland the complaints, desires, and petitions of his heart, as well as the demands of pure evangelical Christianity. And thus arose the boldest, most important, and powerful writing ever composed by Luther, 'The Exhortation to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.' How brightly shine forth from his enthusiastic soul his holy love of truth, his noblemanly sense of right and freedom, his glad courage despising danger, and exulting in high moral power! With justice is this writing called an open declaration of war; for after this bold step, a reconciliation with the Romish court was no more to be thought of. And those powerful words he had produced in the midst of doubts and troubles, when the storm was collecting from all sides around him."

IV.

GUICCIARDINI, lib. xiii. Ann. 1520.—*The substance of his view of the Reformation.*

"In this year began to extend themselves those doctrines lately broached, first against the authority of the Roman church, then against

that of the Christian religion ; which pestiferous poison had its origin in Germany, in the province of Saxony, through the preaching of Martin Luther, who revived for the most part in his principles the ancient errors of the Bohemians. For the late revival of these in Germany occasion had been given by the authority of the apostolic see, somewhat licentiously used by Leo ; who had scattered throughout the whole world, without distinction of time or place, the most ample indulgences, not only to assist thereby the living, but with the power besides of liberating the souls of the dead from the pains of purgatory. Which things not having in themselves any probability or any authority, since it was notorious that they were granted only to extort money from people who had more simplicity than prudence, and being exercised imprudently by the commissioners deputed for that exaction, most of whom bought their commissions from the court of Rome, had excited in many places great indignation and scandal, and especially in Germany, where these were sold by many at a low price, who gamed away at taverns the power of freeing the souls of the dead from purgatory."

He then proceeds to say, that the evil was much increased by its being known, that Leo had given the fruits of these indulgences to his sister Magdalen ; that Luther, thus excited, and protected by the Duke of Saxony, proceeded to carry off images, plunder ecclesiastical property, let loose monks and nuns ; continuing this not only by precept, but by example—denying the authority of the Pope beyond his own diocese, despising all decrees, decretals, canonical laws, reducing everything to the Old and New Testament, and giving to these new and suspected senses, and unheard-of interpretations.

Presently he went so far as to attack the sacraments, to despise fasts, penance, confession ; and some of his followers, some differences now growing up among them, introduced pestiferous and diabolical inventions respecting the Eucharist.

He then finds fault with the Pope's policy : while he punished Luther he ought to have removed all those grievances which gave just ground of complaint ; and this error caused a sympathy with the heretic, as persecuted : for this reason he grew the more. A severe admonition was then directed against the Duke of Saxony, and this only increased his vehemence in the cause, which indeed forthwith began to endanger all Christendom. Nothing has restrained this heresy so much as the discovery by princes that it aimed at the overthrow of all temporal no less than spiritual power ; and nothing has advanced it so much (for through the violence of its chiefs, and its intestine dissensions, it seemed sometimes ready to fall in pieces) as the licentious liberty acquired by the people in their manner of living, and the avarice of the great, to keep possession of the property which they had plundered from the churches.

V.

PALLAVICINO.—*His view of the Reformation*, l. iv, ch. xxiv.

“ Così le fazioni stavan divise. E pertanto prevaleva ne’ grandi e ne’ Consiglieri l’ inclinazione d’ abbattere l’ eresia ; ma tutti rimanevano intimiditi dall’ applauso che Lutero godeva fra la moltitudine degli infirmi e dei mediocri in ogni ordine di persona—imperocchè la moltitudine finalmente è il maggior potestato del mondo. Fra la turba ne’ nobili poveri otteneva egli summo favore, specialmente per opera d’ Ulricho Hutten, Cavaliere di varia letteratura, ben parlante, efficace, amato, e chi invaghito dallo splendore di quegli indorati vocaboli di *Liberta* e di *Riformazione* s’ era fatto più Luterano che lo stesso Lutero. E siccome generalmente la nobiltà povera, istigata dall’ onore e dal bisogno e disposta a macchinare rivoluzioni contro i più doviziosi, aspiravano costoro alle prede di quelle ricchezze, che la pietà de’ maggiori aveva donate alla Chiesa. . . I grammatici e gli umanisti, di cui la Germania era piena, militavano per Lutero sotto la bandiera d’ Erasmo. Concorreva colle suddette classi la plebe ancora de’ legisti. . . Fra il clero si scorgeva una somigliante discordia de’ principali e de’ volgari. I rettori delle chiese onniavavano Martino ; ma gli inferiori ecclesiastici lo sostenevano ; perche indotti e dissoluti amavano l’ ascoltare, che fosse falsa quella dottrina la qual non sapevano, e che fossero nulle quelle ordinanze della Chiesa, le quali violavano.”

The same, respecting Luther and Gaetan, at Augsburg.—Lib. i. cap. x. :—

“ Io confesso, che prima di scrivere e d’ investigar il vero di questi fatti, mi lasciava trarre dal volgar opinione . . e però mi dava ad intendere, che dall’ una parte l’ inperizia, come dicevasi, del Gaetano nell’ erudizioni ecclesiastiche, procacciata si poscia da lui negli ultimi anni ; è dall’ altra, l’ asprezza troppo imperiosa del suo trattare fossero state mancamento di medicina al cervello e veleno al cuor di Lutero. Ma dopo d’ aver risaputo questa successa dalla penna di Lutero medesimo, non veggo, che, ove eandio il Cardinale fosse stato un compendio vivo di tutta l’ ecclesiastica erudizione, avesse potuto valersene in quel trattato pigliando la parte di disputare, disavvantaggiosa per se stessa e odiosa a chi si de e sottomettere, e così debilitando l’ autorità di giudice . . .”

The same, on Pope Adrian.—Lib. ii. cap. vii. :—

“ E vero che (i suoi predecessori) non agguagliavano Adriano in pietà ; ma il superavano in altre doti, meno utili sì alla salute particolare del

possessore, ma più giuevoli forse alla salute de' popoli governati. L' esperienza ha palesato, che non solo il ponteficato Romano, dominio composto di spirituale e di temporale e per molti capi bisognoso di gran prudenza civile, ma il governo di piccole religioni, quantunque semplici e riformati, meglio s' amministra da una bontà mediocre accompagnata da gran senno, che da una santità fornita di picciol senno: intanto che a mantener la santità stessa ne' sudditi più conferisce la prima che la seconda Chi parla contra ciò che ha nel suo cuore tradisce il commercio e perde il principal istrumento di prosperar i negozii, ch' è il credito: chi svela tutto il suo cuore, gittò il dono che gli ha fatto la natura, in darglielo imperscrutibile, e fa comuni tutte le sue armi all' avversario."

"Adrian VI. vir est sui tenax, in concedendo parcissimus, in recipiendo nullus aut rarissimus. In sacrificio cotidianus et matutinus est. Quem amet, aut siquem amet, nulli exploratum. Ira non agitur, jocis non ducitur. Neque ob pontificatum visus est exultasse, quin constat graviter eum ob ejus famam nuntii ingemuisse." *Literæ ex Victor. Directivæ ad Cardinalem de Flisco* . —Ap. Ranke, b. i. ch. iii.

VI.

TO CHAPTER XXXV.

"CONFESSIO Fidei exhibita invictiss. Imp. Carolo V. Cæsari Aug. in Comitibus Augustæ ANNO M.D.XXX. edita vero anno XXXI.

"*Prefatio ad Cæsarem Carolum V.*

"Invictissime Imperator, Cæsar Auguste, domine clementissime: Cum V. C. M. indixerit conventum Imperii Augustæ, ut deliberaretur de auxiliis contra Turcam atrocissimum hæreditarium, atque veterem Christiani nominis ac religionis hostem, quomodo illius scilicet furori et conatibus durabili et perpetuo belli apparatu resisti possit; deinde et de dissensionibus in causa nostræ sanctæ religionis et Christianæ fidei, et ut in hac causa religionis, partium opiniones, ac sententiæ inter sese, in charitate, lenitate, et mansuetudine mutua audiantur coram, intelligantur et ponderentur, ut illis, quæ utrinque in scripturis secus tractata aut intellectæ sunt, sepositis et correctis, res illæ ad unam simplicem veritatem et Christianam concordiam componantur et reducantur, ut de cætero a nobis una, sincera et vera religio colatur et servetur, ut quemadmodum

sub uno Christo sumus et militamus, ita in una etiam Ecclesia Christiana, in unitate et concordia vivere possimus :

“ Cumque nos infra scripti Elector et Principes, cum aliis, qui nobis conjuncti sunt, perinde ut alii Electores et Principes et Status ad præfata Comitia evocati simus, ut Cæsareo mandato obedienter obsequeremur, mature venimus Augustam, et, quod citra jactantiam dictum volumus, inter primos affuimus :

“ Cum igitur V. C. M. Electoribus, Principibus et aliis Statibus Imperii, etiam hic Augustæ sub ipsa initia horum Comitiorum inter cætera proponi fecerit, quod singuli Status Imperii vigore Cæsarei Edicti, suam opinionem et sententiam in Germanica et Latina lingua proponere debeant atque offerre, et habita deliberatione proxima feria quarta, rursum responsum est V. C. M. nos proxima feria sexta Articulos nostræ confessionis pro nostra parte oblaturus esse, Ideo ut V. M. voluntati obsequamur, offerimus in hac religionis causa nostrorum Concionatorum, et nostram confessionem, cujusmodi doctrinam ex scripturis sanctis, et puro verbo Dei, hactenus illi in nostris terris, ducatibus, ditionibus et urbibus tradiderint, ac in Ecclesiis tractaverint.

“ Quod si et cæteri, Electores, Principes, ac Status Imperii, similibus scriptis Latinis scilicet et Germanicis, juxta prædictam Cæsaream propositionem, suas opiniones in hac causa religionis produxerint, Hic nos coram V. C. M. tanquam Domino nostro clementissimo paratos offerimus, nos cum præfatis Principibus et amicis nostris, de tolerabilibus modis ac viis amice conferre, ut quantum honeste fieri potest, conveniamus et re inter nos partes, citra odiosam contentionem pacifice agitata, Deo dante, dissensio dirimatur, et ad unam veram concordem religionem reducatur. Sicut omnes sub uno Christo sumus et militamus, et unum Christum confiteri debemus, juxta tenorem edicti V. C. M. et omnia ad veritatem Dei perducantur, id quod ardentissimis votis a Deo petimus.

“ Si autem, quod ad cæteros Electores, Principes et Status, ut partem alteram attinet, hæc tractatio causæ religionis, eo modo, quo V. C. M. agendam et tractandam sapienter duxit, scilicet cum tali mutua præsentatione scriptorum, ac sedata collatione inter nos non processerit, nec aliquo fructu facta fuerit, nos quidem testatum clare relinquimus, hic nihil nos quod ad Christianam concordiam (quæ cum Deo et bona conscientia fieri possit) conciliandam conducere queat, ullo modo detrectare. Quemadmodum et V. C. M. deinde et cæteri Electores, et Status Imperii, et omnes, quicunque syncero religionis amore ac studio tenentur, quicunque hanc causam æquo animo audituri sunt, ex hac nostra et nostro-rum confessione hoc clementer cognoscere et intelligere dignabuntur.

“ Cum etiam V. C. M. Electoribus, Principibus et reliquis Statibus Imperii non una vice, sed sæpe clementer significaverit, et in comitiis Spirensibus, quæ anno Domini, M.D.XXVI., habita sunt, ex data et præ-

scripta forma vestræ Cæsareæ instructionis et commissionis recitari, et publice prælegi fecerit, Vestram M. in hoc negotio religionis ex causis certis quæ V. M. nomine allegatæ sunt, non velle quidcunque determinare nec concludere posse, sed apud Pontificem Romanum pro officio V. C. M. diligenter daturam operam de congregando concilio generali. Quemadmodum idem latius expositum est ante annum in publico proximo conventu, qui Spiræ congregatus fuit. Ubi V. C. M. per dominum Ferdinandum, Boemiæ et Ungariæ Regem, amicum et dominum clementem nostrum, Deinde per Oratorem, et Commissarios Cæsareos, hæc inter cætera proponi fecit, Quod V. C. M. intellexisset et expendisset locum tenentis V. C. M. in imperio, et præsentis et Consiliariorum in regimine, et Legatorum ab aliis Statibus, qui Ratisponæ convenerant, deliberationem de Concilio congregando, et quod judicaret etiam V. C. M. utile esse, ut congregaretur Concilium. Et quia causæ, quæ tum tractabantur inter V. C. M. et Ro. Pontificem, vicinæ essent concordiæ et Christianæ reconciliationi, non dubitaret V. C. M. quin Roma. Pontifex adduci posset ad habendum generale Concilium. Ideo significabat se V. C. M. operam daturum ut præfatus Ponti. Maximus una cum V. C. M. tale generale Concilium, primo quoque tempore emissis literis publicandum congregare consentiret.

“ In eventum ergo talem, quod in causa religionis, dissensiones inter nos et partes amice et in charitate non fuerint compositæ, tunc coram V. C. M., hic in omni obedientia nos offerimus, ex superabundanti comparituros et causam dicturos in tali generali libero et Christiano Concilio, de quo congregando in omnibus Comitibus Imperialibus, quæ quidem annis Imperii, V. C. M. habita sunt per Electores, Principes et reliquos Status Imperii, semper concordite actum, et congruentibus suffragiis conclusum est. Ad cujus etiam generalis Consilii conventum, simul et ad V. C. M. in hac longe maxima et gravissima causa, jam ante etiam debito modo et in forma juris provocavimus, et appellavimus. Cui appellationi ad V. C. M. simul et concilium, adhuc adhæremus, neque eam per hunc vel alium tractatum (nisi causa inter nos et partes juxta tenorem Cæsareæ proximæ citationis amice in charitate composita, sedata, et ad Christianam concordiam reducta fuerit) deserere intendimus aut possumus. De quo hic etiam solenniter et publice protestamur.

Articuli fidei præcipui.

I.

“ Ecclesiæ magno consensu apud nos docent, Decretum Nicenæ Synodi de unitate essentiæ divinæ, et de tribus Personis verum et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse. Videlicet quod sit una essentia divina, quæ et appellatur et est Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, creator et conservator omnium re-

rum, visibilium et invisibilium, et tamen tres sint personæ, ejusdem essentia et potentia, et coeternæ, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus sanctus. Et nomine personæ utuntur ea significatione, qua usi sunt in hac causa Scriptores Ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit.

“ Damnant omnes hæreses, contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manichæos, qui duo principia ponebant, Bonum et Malum, item Valentiniānos, Arrianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas et omnes horum similes. Damnant et Samosetanos veteres et Neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendant, de Verbo et de Spiritu sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod verbum significet verbum vocale et spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

II.

“ Item docent, quod post lapsum Adæ omnes homines secundum naturam propagati nascantur cum peccato, hoc est, sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum, et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus, seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his, qui non renascuntur, per baptismum et Spiritum sanctum.

“ Damnant Pelagianos, et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram Deo justificari posse.

III.

“ Item docent, quod verbum, hoc est, Filius Dei, assumpserit humanam naturam in utero beatæ Mariæ virginis, ut sint duæ naturæ, divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ, unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo, natus ex virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. Idem descendit ad inferos, et vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad cœlos, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corda eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur et vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus diabolum, et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus, ut judicet vivos et mortuos, &c., juxta symbolum apostolorum.

IV.

“ Item docent, quod homines non possint justificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis aut operibus, sed gratisificentur propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata remitti

propter Christum, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justicia coram ipso. Rom. 3 et 4.

V.

“ Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institum est ministerium docendi Evangelii et porrigendi Sacramenta. Nam per verbum et Sacramenta, tanquam per instrumenta, donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo in iis, qui audiunt evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita, sed propter Christum justificet, hos qui credunt, se propter Christum in gratiam recipi.

“ Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum preparationes et opera.

VI.

“ Item docent quod fides illa debeat bonos fructus parere, et quod oporteat bona opera, mandata a Deo facere, propter voluntatem Dei, non ut confidamus per ea opera justificationem coram Deo mereri. Nam remissio peccatorum et justificatio fide apprehenditur, sicut testatur et vox Christi, cum feceritis hæc omnia, dicite, servi inutiles sumus. Idem docent et veteres scriptores ecclesiastici. Ambrosius enim inquit, hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum, salvus sit, siue opera, sola fide, gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum.

VII.

“ Item docent, quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur Sacramenta. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiæ, satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione Sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut cæremonias ob hominibus institutas. Sicut inquit Paulus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium, &c.

VIII.

“ Quamquam ecclesia propria congregatio Sanctorum et vere credentium, tamen cum in hac vita multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sint, licet uti Sacramentis, quæ per malos administrantur juxta vocem Christi, sedent Scribæ et Pharisei in cathedra Mosi, &c. Et Sacramenta et verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

“ Damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in ecclesia, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse.

IX.

“ De baptismo docent, quod sit necessarius ad salutem quodque per

baptismum offeratur gratia Dei, et quod pueri sint baptizandi qui per baptismum oblato Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei.

“ Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant baptismum puerorum et affirmant pueros sine baptismo salvos fieri.

X.

“ De Cœna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint, et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes.

XI.

“ De confessione docent, quod absolutio privata in Ecclesiis retinenda sit, quanquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratione. Est enim impossibilis juxta Psalmum, Delicta quis intelligit?

XII.

“ De Pœnitentia docent, quod lapsis post baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum, quocunque tempore, cum convertuntur. Et quod Ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad pœnitentiam absolutionem impartiri debeat.

“ Constat autem pœnitentia proprie his duabus partibus, Altera est, contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiae agnito peccato, Altera est, fides, quæ concipitur ex Evangelio seu absolutione, et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam, et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quæ sunt fructus pœnitentiae.

“ Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificatos posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum. Item qui contendunt quibusdam tantam perfectionem in hac vita contingere, ut peccare non possint. Damnantur et Novatiani, qui volebant absolvere lapsos post baptismum redeuntibus ad pœnitentiam. Rejiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem peccatorum per fidem contingere, sed docent remissionem peccatorum contingere propter nostram dilectionem et opera. Rejiciuntur et isti, qui canonicas satisfactiones docent necessarias esse ad redimendas pœnas aeternas, aut pœnas purgatorii.

XIII.

“ De usu Sacramentorum docent, quod Sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notæ professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos, ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his, qui utuntur, proposita. Itaque utendum est Sacramentis ita, ut fides accedat, quæ credat promissionibus, quæ per Sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur.

“ Damnant igitur illos, qui docent, quod Sacramenta ex opere operatoificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu Sacramentorum, quæ credat remitti peccata.

XIV.

“De ordine Ecclesiastico docent quod nemo debeat in Ecclesia publice docere aut Sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus.

XV.

“De ritibus Ecclesiasticis docent, quod ritus illi servandi sint, qui sine peccato servari possunt, et prosunt ad tranquillitatem et bonum ordinem in Ecclesia, sicut, certæ feriæ, festa et similia.

“De talibus rebus tamen admonentur homines, ne conscientiæ onerentur, tanquam talis cultus ad salutem necessarius sit.

“Admonentur etiam, quod traditiones humanæ institutæ ad placandum Deum, ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis, adversentur Evangelio et doctrinæ fidei. Quare vota et traditiones de cibis et diebus, &c., institutæ ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis inutiles sint et contra Evangelium.

XVI.

“De rebus civilibus docent, quod legitimæ ordinationes civiles sint bona opera Dei, quod Christianis liceat gerere magistratus, exercere judicia, judicare res ex imperatoriis et aliis præsentibus legibus, supplicia jure constituere, jure bellare, militare, lege contrahere, tenere proprium, jusjurandum postulantis magistratibus dare, ducere uxorem, nubere.

“Damnant Anabaptistas, qui interdicut hæc civilia officia Christianis. Damnant et illos, qui Evangelicam perfectionem non collocant in timore Dei et fide, sed in deserendis civilibus officiis. Quia Evangelium tradit justiciam æternam cordis, interim non dissipat politiam et œconomiam, sed maxime postulat conservare tanquam ordinationes Dei, et in talibus ordinationibus exercere charitatem. Itaque necessario debent Christiani obedire magistratibus suis et legibus, nisi cum jubent peccare, Tunc enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus, Act. 5.

XVII.

“Item docent quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad judicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac Diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

“Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt hominibus damnatis ac Diabolis finem pœnarum futurum esse, damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt Judaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum, pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis.

XVIII.

“De libero arbitrio docent, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem justiciam, et diligendas res rationi

subjectas ; sed non habeat vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendæ justitiæ Dei, seu justitiæ spiritualis, quia animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei, sed hæc fit in cordibus, cum per verbum Spiritus Sanctus concipitur. Hæc totidem verbis dicit Augustinus, lib. 3. Hypnognosticon. Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus, habens quidem iudicium rationis, non per quod sit idoneum in iis, quæ ad Deum pertinent, sine Deo aut inchoare aut certe peragere, sed tantum in operibus vitæ præsentis tam bonis quam etiam malis. Bonis dico, quæ de bono naturæ oriuntur, id est, velle laborare in agro, velle manducare et bibere, velle habere amicum, velle habere indumenta, velle fabricare domum, uxorem velle ducere, pecora nutrire, artem discere diversarum rerum bonarum, velle quicquid bonum ad præsentem pertinet vitam. Quæ omnia non sine divino gubernaculo subsistunt, imo ex ipso et per ipsum sunt, et esse cœperunt. Malis vero dico, ut est velle idolum colere, velle homicidium, &c.

“ Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui docent quod sine Spiritu Sancto, solis naturæ viribus possimus Deum super omnia diligere. Item præcepta Dei facere, quo ad substantiam actuum. Quanquam enim externa opera aliquo modo efficere natura possit, potest enim continere manus a furto, a cæde, tamen interiores motus non potest efficere, ut timorem Dei, fiduciam erga Deum, castitatem, patientiam, &c.

XIX.

“ De causa peccati docent, quod tametsi Deus creat et conservat naturam, tamen causa peccati est voluntas malorum, videlicet Diaboli et impiorum, quæ, non adjuvante Deo, avertit se a Deo, sicut Christus ait Johan. 8. Cum loquitur mendacium ex seipso loquitur.

XX.

“ Falso accusantur nostri, quod bona opera prohibeant. (The real doctrine of the reformers is then expounded at considerable length.)

XXI.

“ De cultu sanctorum docent, quod memoria sanctorum proponi potest, ut imitemur fidem eorum, et bona opera juxta vocationem, ut Cæsar imitari potest exemplum Davidis in bello gerendo ad depellendos Turcas a patria. Nam uterque rex est. Sed Scriptura non docet invocare sanctos, seu petere auxilium a sanctis. Quia unum Christum nobis proponit mediatorem, propiciatorium, pontificem, et intercessorem. Hic invocandus est, et promisit se exauditorium esse preces nostras, et hunc cultum maxime probat, videlicet, et ut invocetur in omnibus afflictionibus. 1. Johan. 2. Si quis peccat, habemus advocatum apud Deum, &c.

“ Hæc fere summa est doctrinæ apud nos, in qua cerni potest nihil in esse quod discrepet a Scripturis, vel ab Ecclesia Catholica vel ab Ecclesia

Romana, quatenus ex Scriptoribus nota est. Quod cum ita sit, inle-
 menter judicant isti, qui nostros pro hæreticis haberi postulant. Sed dis-
 sensio est de quibusdam abusibus qui sine certa autoritate in Ecclesias
 irrepserunt, in quibus etiam, siquæ esset dissimilitudo, tamen decebat hæc
 lenitas Episcopos, ut propter confessionem, quam modo recensuimus,
 tolerarent nostros. Quia ne canones quidem tam duri sunt, ut eosdem
 ritus ubique esse postulent, neque similes unquam omnium Ecclesiarum
 ritus fuerunt. Quanquam apud nos magna ex parte veteres ritus dili-
 genter servantur. Falsa enim calumnia est, quod omnes cærimonie,
 omnia vetera instituta in Ecclesiis nostris aboleantur. Verum, publica
 querela fuit, abusus quosdam in vulgaribus ritibus hære. Illi quia
 non poterant bona conscientia probari, aliqua ex parte correcti sunt."

In 1518 Luther wrote as follows:—"Mi Spalatine, non fuit mens mea
 unquam venerationem sanctorum esse superstitionem, neque invocationes
 eorundum pro causis vel corporalissimis. Hoc enim sapiunt hæretici
 illi, vicini nostri, Pighardi in Boemia."

The same, in his *Prælectiones on Isaiah*, c. lxiv. 15, on the words
 "Abraham nescit nos."

"Hic disputant scholastici, an sancti miseras nostras videant. Scrip-
 tum autem dicit quod dormiant. Scimus igitur nos et sentire debemus,
 quod sint nobis mortui. Quomodo autem Deo vivant, nihil ad nos,
 neque enim illa per verbum nobis sunt revelata. Et satis est nosse
 quod nobis sint mortui. Non ergo a nobis sunt invocandi. Unicum
 refugium est, non ad sanctos, præsertim mortuos, sed ad Deum, qui est
 Pater ab æterno. Illi, ut maxime patres fuerunt, tamen jam cessarunt
 patres esse."

VII.

JOHN MÜLLER, *Allgemein. Geschicht. on Charles V.*

"To make him the greatest prince in Europe, Charles wanted that
 which Luther opposed to him—the fearless courage given by a sense of
 good motives. He had acquired a certain outward moderation from
 having been brought up in free Flanders and Ferdinand's political court.
 This was confirmed by the weakness of his bodily constitution and his
 particular disposition to look forward, to suspect every one, and observe
 all with mistrust. Thus Charles formed his plans well, but failed in
 their execution; he was more fit for deliberation than quick decision.
 But, when he failed in his long-considered plans, it was principally be-
 cause he regarded the moral less than the physical powers opposed to
 him, and disinterested courage was a surprise to him.

“The high line of politics was unknown in his time. It is true that he had Thucydides and Machiavelli ever before him; but one is far from knowing an author, till one can make his opinions one’s own, so as to remain faithful to their wisdom in the tumult of business or passion; and as every one takes the point of view he likes the best, so Charles learnt from history the art of dissimulation, which he confounded with state policy.

“It must be confessed that the contradiction in his own circumstances between appearance and reality might lead to this. He appeared immeasurably powerful, and was in fact obliged to conceal the mediocrity of his means. Though king of the rich south, heir of Burgundy, and lord of the New World, he was often without money; the gold mines were not at first very productive, and the administration of finance was in its infancy. From want of money came want of military discipline. Troops deserted, or plundered their own country, when pay and food were wanting, and in victory made the most licentious use of their success. Nor could the generals command them. Charles himself had not the commanding character of a hero, nor had military tactics yet confirmed the habits of obedience.”

VIII.

TO CHAPTER XLI.

Henry VIII. to the Elector of Saxony.

“Henricus VIII. Dei gratia rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei Defensor ac Dominus Hiberniæ et in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ immediate sub Christo supremum caput, Illustrissimo et excellentissimo principi domino Johanni Friderico duci Saxonie, S. R. I. archimarescallo ac principi Electori, Landg. Thuring. March. Misn. et Burggr. Magdeb. consanguineo et amico nostro carissimo, salutem. Ad aliquot menses hic apud nos egerunt præstantissimi viri dominus Franciscus Burgratus (id est, Burcardus), Vicecancellarius, dominus Georgius a Boyneburg LL. Doctor, ac Dominus Fridericus Myconius, vestræ excellentiæ ac illustrissimi domini Landgravii Hassiæ, amici nostri integerrimi, oratores, qui tam præclara sanæ eruditionis, prudentiæ ac probitatis non vulgaris, summiq; in Christianam pietatem studii argumenta præstiterunt, ut eorum consuetudo, quemadmodum nobis extitit, omnium quam maxime chara et accepta, ita ex hac, bene juvante Deo, certam jam spem concessimus fructus successusque, recte initis consiliis, cæptisque actionibus, quandoque responsuros esse. Negotium hoc, de quo hactenus egimus, ut omnium gravissimum est, et Christiano pectore quam maxime dignum,

quod veram Christi gloriam ejusque religionis disciplinam et tranquillitatem complectatur, ita maturatis sentiis purisque consiliis illud tractari expedit, sicque in omnem partem dispicere, ut, præter summi Dei laudem et publicum bonum commune atque Christianorum salutem, universo orbi manifeste constet, aliud nihil nos esse secutos. In eam igitur cum præfatis Dom. oratoribus consiliorum et sententiarum formam devenimus, et sicuti ex illorum sermone Vestra Excellentia uberius distinctiusque cognoscet, ad eum modum quæ hactenus inter nos acta tractataque fuere, cum Deo omnia optavimus ut solidissimis fundamentis certissimisque rationibus innitatur, et veram Christi gloriam certo cum fructu illustrare queat, et quam latissime propagare. Mutuas vero has actiones nostras, ubi Vestra Excellentia ex suis oratoribus penitus cognoverit, ipsi, pro sua singulari prudentia et innato quodam conatus quosque optimos promovendi studio, quam maxime probatum iri non ambigimus, et pro his quæ feliciter agi cœpta sunt, felicius absolvendis concludendisque expectamus ut dominum Philippum Melancthonem, in cujus excellenti eruditione sanoque judicio a bonis omnibus multa spes reposita est, doctosque alios et probos viros primo quoque tempore ad nos mittat; omnemque tunc operam dabimus ut Vestra Excellentia perspiciat, in iis, quæ ad veram ullo modo pietatem spectent et a Christiani Principis officio esse videbuntur; et quæ mutuam nostram benevolentiam augere possint et conservare, tot hinc inde labores haud frustra hactenus esse susceptos. Cætera ex eisdem Dom. oratoribus, dignissimis quidem quorum fidei atque prudentiæ maxime quæque committantur effusius cognoscet eadem Excellentia vestra, quæ feliciter valeat. Ex Regia nostra prope Londinum, kal. Octob. 1538.

Vester consanguineus et bonus amicus

HENRY.

Peter Vannes."

IX.

TO CHAPTER XLV.

Index tributorum quæ a Fœderatis collata sunt.—A. D. 1539.

Excerpsi ex eisdem actis Conventus Francofurtensis (dict. Reg. II. fol. 235 et seq. No. 104) indicem Fœderatorum Evangelicorum, et quantum quisque in menses singulos, si ad arma veniendum esset, contribuere teneretur, duplicata aut aucta, si opus foret, summa. Divisi erant, ut alibi notatum est, in duos, quos vocabant, circulos sive tractus, Saxonicum nempo et Germaniæ Superioris; illi Elector Saxo, huic Landgravius præpositus erat, ita tamen distributis regionibus et civitatibus, non

prorsus observato situ, ut haud impares utrimque vires essent, sequentem nimirum in modum.

IN CIRCULO SAXONICO.		IN SUPERIORI GERMANIA.	
Elector Saxo contribuebat	fl. 2800	Landgravius Hassiæ	2800
Johannes March. Brandeb.	400	Dux Wurtembergensis	1820
Duces Luneb. Principes Anhaltini,		Comes Feckelburgensis	80
Comites Mansfeldenses, Nassovii		Civitas Argentoratum	1000
Saræpont. conjunctim	1300	Augusta	1000
Elizabetha vidua Johannis Sax-		Ulma	1000
ducis	100	Frankofurtum	600
Pomeraniæ duces	1800	Constantia	260
Guilielmus Nassovius Dillenburg	400	Memminga	290
Civitas Magdeburgum	700	Bibracum	220
Brema	634	Liudavia	180
Brunsuiga	700	Reutlinga	180
Gossleria	373	Eslinga	250
Hamburgum	700	Campidunum	140
Eimbecca	140	Isna	120
Hannovera	120	Hala	240
Gottinga	194	Haylbrunna	200
Minda	80		
Summa circuli Saxonici	10441	Summa superioris circu	10380

Præterea rex Daniæ ad pecuniæ vel militum contributionem, ex pacto anno præterito Brunsvigæ inito, ut relatam fuit, obligatus erat. Tantillis viribus totius pene Europæ potentiæ sese opponere, bonæ causæ fiducia, ausi sunt. —Ap. Seckend. lib. iii. p. 205.

X.

Luther and Melancthon in 1540.

“Sed non opus est tanto viro mea commendatione, cum tot extant scripta illius, et inter ea Exegeses Evangelicæ Latinæ, in quibus Dom. Voc. Jucund. p. 196, hæc ex MSS. Bibliothecæ Principis Germanicis Latine retulit. ‘Adveniens Lutherus Philippum jam animam acturum comperit; fracti erant oculi, intellectus pene amissus, lingua defecerat et auditus, vultus conciderat, neminem agnoscebat, cibo et potu abstinebat. Hunc ob adspectum summe Lutherus conterretur, et ad comites itineris conversus ait: bone Deus, ut nobis Diabolus hoc organon dehonestavit! (wie hat mir der Teufel das organon geschändet). Ad fenestras porro vultu averso devotissime Deum invocabat: Allda (sagte Lutherus) muste mir unser herr Gott herhalten, denn ich warff ihm den sack für die thür und riebe ihm die ohren mit allen promissionibus exaudiendarum precum, die ich aus der heiligen schrift zu erzehlen wuste, das er mich muste

erhören, wo ich anderst seinen verheissungen trauen solte. Parrhesia hæc vix exprimi Latine potest. Sensus est, 'se cum Deo magna cum confidentia egisse omnesque ei objecisse et veluti inculcasse, quæ ex Scripturis allegari poterant, promissiones de audiendis precibus, itaque cogebatur (ait) me exaudire, si fiduciam meam in promissiones suas conservare vellet.' Pergit Glassius. 'Post hæc manum Philippi prehensens, (bene autem cognita ipsi cordis et conscientiae ejus sollicitudo erat) bono animo esto, Philippe, ait, non morieris; quamvis occidendi causa Deo non desit, tamen non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat: delectatur vita et non morte. Quia Deus maximos peccatores, qui unquam in terris vixerunt, Adam videlicet et Evam, in gratiam suam vocavit et recepit, multo minus te, Philippe, vult abjicere vel permittere, ut in peccato et mœrore tuo pereas. Quare spiritui tristitiae locum ne dato, nec tui ipsius fias homicida, sed confide Domino, qui mortificare et vivificare potest. Hæc dum ita proloquitur, reviviscere quasi et spiritum ducere Philippus incipit paulatimque viribus resumptis, tandem sanitati restituitur, &c."—Ap. Seck. lib. iii. p. 314.

Extract from a Will of Melancthon.—A. D. 1540.

"Ago autem gratias reverendo D. Doctori Martino Luthero, primum quia ab ipso Evangelium didici, deinde pro singulari erga me benevolentia, quam quidem plurimis beneficiis declaravit, eumque volo a meis, non secus ac patrem, coli. Ego, quia vidi et comperi præditum esse excellenti et heroica vi ingenii et multis magnis virtutibus, pietate ac doctrina præcipua, semper eum magni feci, dilexi, et colendum esse sensi. Ago etiam gratias illustrissimo Principi, Duci Saxoniae Electori, Domino Johanni Friderico, cujus erga me fuit singularis clementia et liberalitas. Ac oro Deum ut servet eum incolumem, defendat ac gubernet, ad suam et communem salutem Ecclesiae, et multarum gentium. Fuit mihi etiam pergrata benevolentia viri clarissimi domini Cancellarii Pontani, quem et ipsum propter egregiam vim ingenii et virtutem dilexi, eique pro omnibus beneficiis gratias ago. Ago gratias et ceteris bonis viris, qui constantiam in amicitia nostra perpetuam præstiterunt, Georgio fratri meo, Joachimo Camerario, domino Cancellario Francisco (*id est, Burcardo*), D. Jonæ, D. Pómerano, Crucigero, D. Augustino (Schurfio) D. Milichio, Paulo Ebero, Vito. Ac precor Deum, ut eos servet. Nec judico extingui has amicitias mea morte, sed sentio nos paulo post in cœlesti vita conventuros esse, ubi verius fui licebit amicitia nostra, et erit multo dulcior familiaritas. Precor etiam omnes ut mihi amanter dent veniam erratorum meorum, si qua in re quemquam offendi. Certe petulanter non volui offendere. Etiam omnibus in Academia Doctoribus ac collegis meis gratias ago, quod me amanter multis officiis in Republica et privatim adjuverunt."—Ap. Seck. lib. iii. p. 270.

XI.

LUTHER, *on receiving the relation propagated by the Papists concerning his own Death.*—Chap. xlvii.

“Ego D. Martinus Lutherus testor hac manu meæ scriptura me figmentum hoc rabidum (das zornige gedichte) die 21 Martii legendum accepisse, et quidem libentem et lætantem, nisi quod abominanda mendacia divinæ Majestati attribuantur. Valde autem me titillat et delectat (es thut mir sanfft auff der rechten kniescheibe, und an dem linckten fusse) quod diabolus ejusque squamæ, Papa et Papistæ, mihi tam vehementer infensi sint. Deus eos a diabolo reducat et convertat. Si vero decretum est divinitus, ut preces meæ pro peccato in mortem irritæ sint, faxit Deus ut mensuram suam impleant, nec alios quam hujusmodi libellos in solatium gaudiumque suum scribant. Sinamus eos, eunt enim quo voluerunt. Ego interim videbo an salvari possint et quomodo pœnitentiam acturi sint de omnibus mendaciis ac blasphemis suis quibus mundum replent.”

XII.

TO CHAPTER XLVII.

Myconius to Justus Menius, March 9, 1546, on the Death of Luther.

“De morte Lutheri, quam ille mihi ante annos sex prædixit, ante meum transitum futuram, certe vehementer percussus sum. Sed quid ultra faceret in mundo obstinato, impœnitente, ingrato, insanabili, et in universum in maligno posito, qui mavult in æternum perire, quam per Christum salvari? Quid non fecit? Quid etiam piis et toti ecclesiæ Christi præstare ultra potuit, aut non abundissime præstitit per annos triginta, nullo pene momento cessans vel ab orando vel urgendo officio Christi? Gratias ago Deo qui nobis hunc Eliam suum hoc postremo tempore misit, et tot annis per illum indignissimis servivit tanta fide et constantia ut summum miraculum mundo fuerit. Dæt mihi Dominus felicem horam, ut eum cito sequar.—AMEN.”

Post has literas Myconius unum adhuc mensem vixit, et ut alibi notavimus, die 7 Aprilis decessit.—Ap. Seckend. lib. iii. p. 630.

XIII.

The Character of LUTHER, according to his Enemies.—Varillas; Histoire des Révolutions arrivées dans l'Europe en matière de Religion.—Liv. iii.

“Martin Luther avait rassemblé dans sa personne toutes les bonnes et

les mauvaises qualités, que les Saints Pères avoient observées dans les hérésiarques de leur temps. Il sembloit que la nature eût joint en lui un esprit Italien avec un corps Allemand ; tant il avoit de vivacité, d'industrie, de vigueur et de santé. Aucun ne le surpassoit dans l'étude de la Philosophie et de la Théologie scholastique, et aucun ne l'égalait au talent de la prédication. Il possédoit en perfection la haute éloquence ; il avoit découvert le fort et le foible de la raison humaine, et il connoissoit les endroits où on est prenable. . . Il savoit irriter ou modérer les passions . . . et lorsque les matières étoient trop élevées au-dessus de l'entendement pour le convaincre, il ne laissoit pas de l'assujettir en forçant l'imagination par la violence de ses figures . . . Enfin il achevoit de triompher par l'élégance de son style Allemand . . . et comme personne n'écrivoit ni parloit aussi bien que lui la langue de son pays, personne n'a depuis écrit ou parlé avec tant délicatesse. Il étoit en échange fier, ambitieux, satyrique, pas touché de bienfaits, irréconciliable ; facile à l'emporter, difficile de revenir de son emportement, attaché à la bonne chère et capable des excès qui la suivoient."

Florimond Raymondus, another papist, so speaks of Luther :—

"Ingenio prompto fuit et vivo, felici memoria, singulari et facili vernaculæ linguæ eloquentia nemini suæ ætatis cedens. Et suggestu declamans velut œstro percitus, accommodata verbis actione auditorum animos mirificè percellibat, et velut torrens, quocunque vellet abripiebat—quæ dicendi vis et gratia paucis apud Septentrionales populos concessa est."

PALLAVICINO.—Lib. i. cap. iv.

"Hebbe (Lutero) ingegno acuto e vivace. Fù affezionato allo studio ed ad esso infaticabile di corpo e di mente. Non essendo povero di letteratura, ne pareva ricchissimo, perchè portava tutto il suo capitale nella punta della lingua. E colla prontezza di essa aiutato dalla robustezza de' fianchi, riportava sempre l' applauso di coloro, i quali giudicavano i disputanti più col senso che coll' intelletto. Queste doti l' empievono d' alterizia . . . nasceva dall' alterizia il disprezzo de' più apprezzati scrittori . . . Macchinava pertanto d' abbattere i due più riveriti nomi nelle scuole, Aristotele nella philosophia ; San Tommaso nella theologia . . . Le invettive di Lutero ascoltavansi con piacere dal popolo sempre invidioso a' più potenti ed a' più riveriti."

PAUL JQVIVS.—Vit. Læo X. lib. iii.

"—— Inducto subinde Luthero, ex Augustiniana Secta fraterculo,

qui malesanā vehementique eloquentia dum in Pontificem et Romanæ Aulæ mores invheretur, evulgatis passim sui dogmatibus libellis, religionem evertit. Unde illi hæresiarchæ cognomen partum, non ambigua fortasse cum laude, si in unum tantum pontificiæ causæ jugulum, nihil tentatis veteribus cæremoniis, incubuisset. Sed facundiam ejus sacramque literarum peritiam ab infami transfugio abjecta imprimis cuculla et mox assiduæ in ganeis computationes et cum Sacra Virgine ad libidinem quæsitus torus magnopere defœdaverunt.”

Again, in his *Life of Hadrian VI.* :—

“ Nam Germania fere omnis Lutheri, diri hominis, superstitione imbuta Romani Pontificis majestatem nefario criminationum genere proscindebat, quum ipse a veteribus sacrorum institutis Christianisque moribus descivisset. Sacerdos enim e cænobio, abjecta cuculla, se proripiens cum Sacrata Virgine nuptias fecerat ita ut præclari modo nominis theologus in sago militari conspiceretur.”

XIV.

Jacobi Monasteriensis sacrificuli Salodorani epistola ad amicum de disputatione Bernensi, 29 Jan. 1528.

“ Clarissimo viro jureconsulto, domino Sigismundo de S. Tradone, canonico et custodi insignis collegii apud S. Victorem Moguntiæ, domino et fratri suo observando.

S. P. D. Mirari te existimo quidnam acciderit quod serio adeo ad vos scribam. Causam fuisse scito conciliabulum vel disputationem (disputationem dicere volebam), Lutheranorum, vel potius Zuinglianorum hæreticorum, Bernæ habitam. Utcunque enim negotia urgerent, præsertim canonicatus apud D. Mauritium, quem ante bimestre tempus germanus meus militans inter latrones Romæ mihi impetravit (militum enim quam Cardinalium modo opera mihi utilior Romæ fuerat), utcumque, inquam, hæc et alia negotia me urgerent, subsistere tamen libuit; videreque quo evasura esset rabies, et quam curæ esset episcopis nostra Ecclesia.

Sed quid dicam? Querimur partim de dexteritate hæreticorum, partim de conniventia principum, permulti etiam fata incusamus. Sed quod equidem dicere soleo, verissime in his hæreticorum comitiis comperi. Ruunt res nostræ sola nostra inertia et quia literatos nullos nostri coryphæi alunt.

Effecerant quidem fidi nobis servatores Bernæ, et ii certe, apud quos hactenus summa rerum fuit, ut et episcopi, quibus est Ecclesiæ in illorum ditone jurisdictio, additis etiam minis, ad suam disputationem

vocarentur, sed nulla alia spe quam ut eruditos illi adducerent qui hæreticos confutarent. Sed quid? Nemo illorum vel ipse venit, vel eruditos misit; Gallos quosdam misit Lausaniensis, sed antequam congregerentur revocavit eos. Venit post aliquot dies Augustinianus quidam Frater, Provinciales salutabant ac Trægerinum dicebant; sed loquentiæ aliquid, eruditionis ac eloquentiæ nihil in eo deprehensum est. Ubi enim Scripturæ exigebantur, maluit abire quam disputare. Equidem in eo nihil vidi quam monachum, eumque frontosum, licet alii nescio quid de eo prædicent. Clamosior alius sed nequaquam doctior Dominicaster per dies aliquot strepuit ex Scripturis, sed quam feliciter hinc conjice. Probaturus Pontificem quoque esse Caput Ecclesiæ, adduxit id a Petro eum accepisse, qui ideo fuisset a Domino vocatus Cephas, *Caput*, sic enim se legisse aiebat in vocabulariis. Vide quales habeamus propugnatores et adhuc miramur vulgus nos contemni, et passim multos a nobis deficere? Disputarunt præterea tres aut quatuor Sacrifici cum quodam ludimagistro, quem 'Literam' (Buchstab) vocant. Non malus homo, ut videbatur, quique unus plus studii præ se ferebat defendendi Ecclesiam et scripta Patrum, quam quotquot fuerunt in illis comitiis. Sed deerant vires. A Fabro nostro, Eccio, Roffensi, quæ tu scis, omnia, nequaquam tam firma aut arguta, ut oportebat, in hæreticos congesta, diligenter proponebat.

Sed prælatorum et Capituli Bernensium audi constantiam. Cum, uno aut altero excepto, nemo eorum non agnosceret blasphemos illos hæreticorum articulos, omnibus tamen subscripserunt singuli, idque in Capitulo congregati, tantum quod indoctæ Bestiæ nihil possent hæreticis objicere. Si cordati fuissent, vel mediocri dexteritate præditi (ita valebat adhuc factio nostra Bernæ), si nihil aliud at in annum usque potuissent disputationem extrahere. Sed sic decet nos pœnas dare contemptarum literarum et neglectus studiorum. Horum vero insanum consilium secuti sunt in ditione Bernatium monachi et sacrifici. Habent autem parochias 304, præter ditissima quædam cœnobîa et collegia, forte plus minus triginta, in fide Ecclesiæ perseverantia.

De hæreticis forte cupis ut scribam; sed quid mihi et tibi causam ingeram doloris? scribam de paucis. Facilis illis pugna fuit, cum nulli instructi coram starent antagonistæ. Ita paratos non vidi, quin si dextri homines adfuissent et in Scripturis versati, si non in omnibus illos vicissent (quis enim vinceret quovis Corinthio ære loquaciores? præsertim cum nostra omnia non asserte ex Scripturis probari possint), remorati tamen fuissent in dubio illorum conatus. O si vel unus Erasmus commissus illis fuisset! vidi enim sæpe de responsionibus inter eos non convenire; vidi anxie alii alium quod diceret suggerere; vidi de germano quorundam locorum sensu hærerere. Ita instructo et dextro disputatori aptissimæ anse fuissent confundendi illos, auctoritatisque adi-

mendæ illis, atque ita vastationem quam invexerunt revocandi. Quamquam autem si viros hæretici contra se habuissent, cautius et consultius ita egissent. Suntque admodum quidam eorum, qui ut solum Zwinglii vehementia tantum ira excitari potuerunt. Admodum enim ille continuo fervebat. Et usui nobis fuisset et decorum, atque auctoritatem illius imminuissimus; doctior tamen hæc Bellua est quam putabam. Nasutus Œcolampadius in Prophetis ille et Hebræa lingua præstare videtur; sed nihil illi ubertate ingenii et exponendi perspicuitate, tamen in Græcis, si non major, par illi. Quid nunc impostor Capito valeat, non potuit dijudicari, pauca enim locutus est. Plura Snaphanicus Bucerus, qui si eruditione et linguarum scientia par esset Zwinglio et Œcolampadio, nobis magis metuendus esset. Ita difficile commovetur Bestiola et satis luculenter sua proponit. Sed quid? Iniquissime vides rem nostram comparatam coram exercitatissimis hæreticis. Unus et alter latravit sacrificulus, qui vigiliis canendis, non disputando, erant exercitati; bonus ille ludimagister 'Litera,' sane parum literata.

Quem autem eventum habuit disputatio? indignum nostra diligentia. Cum disputatio finita esset 25 Januarii, utriusque Senatus decreto consultum est ut omnes Aræ, Statuæ, Missæ, et quicquid cultus Divini et cæremoniarum esset ecclesiæ in oppido Bernæ, et omnibus vicis et pagis ipsorum imperio subjectis, ubi non major populi pars id ferat, eliminentur, nec unquam recipiantur. O tempora! O mores! O nostram socordiam! Quam facile potuisset hoc malum caveri, *si studiosorum quam scortorum nostri Episcopi amantiore essent*. Sed dices, 'Nullane spes hos nefariorum hæreticorum conatus refringendos?' Certe perpauca. Nosti ferocitatem hujus gentis, quam nihil aliud subvertit, quam quod nemo adeo idoneus contra hæreticos prodire fuit ausus. Lucernani cum Primoribus Pagorum aliquot sedulo sane navarunt operam, seduliorum certe quam omnes Episcopi, ut ista impedirentur. Sed dum malis adeo defensoribus nostræ partes apparuerunt, rudis plebs nudos quosque veritate arbitrata est, vicitque pars major meliorem. Nam Tiguriini omnia possunt apud illos, quos scis et exercitatissimos esse dolis et incomparabili pertinacia. Quid nunc faciant alii? Senatum quoque Basiliensem scis metu plebis suæ, quam incantat Œcolampadius, non tam eruditione quam hypocrisi sua, nihil posse. Item paulo post usu venit et aliis. Unum equidem timeo paulo post Helvetios æque Pontificis excussuros jugum, atque excusserunt jam pridem Cæsaris. Et utinam Constantia et aliquot urbes Imperii non sequantur exemplum.

Res Cæsaris fere sic habuit in Italia et regis Hungarorum in Hungaria, sicut Saxonia, ut frustra in præsentem ab ipsis speremus hæreticos opprimendos. Nisi nos excindi volumus, ad eas artes nobis confugiendum est, quibus primum crevit Ecclesia, eruditionem et mores aliqua saltem specie laudabiles. Sed de his satis. Domino Zobelio da has

legendas, et conjunctas his da Domino Leystro, hortareque ut rem meam ament diligenter. Dominum Rodolphum die pensionem Lausaniensem ad Francofordium emporium exspectare. Saluta amicos et commenda me Domino Decano. Vale feliciter cum tua Hildegarde et pusione Iulio. Solothuri, 29 Januarii.

T. JACOBUS MONASTERIENSIS.

Apud Gerdes. Hist. Reform. vol. ii. Monum. Antiq. No. xxiv."

XV.

LUTHER'S PREFACE TO HIS WORKS.

Martinus Lutherus pio Lectori, S.

Multum diuque restiti illis qui meos libros, seu verius confusiones mearum lucubrationem voluerunt editas, tum quod nolui antiquorum labores meis novitatibus obrui, et lectorem a legendis illis impediri, tum quod nunc, Dei gratia, extent methodici libri quam plurimi, inter quos Loci Communes Philippi excellunt, quibus Theologus et Episcopus pulchrè et abunde formari potest, ut sit potens in sermone doctrinæ pietatis, præsertim cum ipsa Sacra Biblia nunc in omni prope lingua haberi possint, mei autem libri, ut ferebat, imo cogebat rerum gerendarum nullus ordo, ita etiam ipsi sint quoddam rude et indigestum chaos, quod nunc nec mihi ipsi sit facile digerere.

His rationibus adductus cupiebam omnes libros meos perpetua oblivione sepultos, ut melioribus esset locus. Verum improbitas et importuna pertinacia aliorum, qui mihi quotidie aures implebant, futurum esse, si ego vivus non permitterem edi, tamen post mortem meam essent certissime edituri ii, qui prorsus nescirent causas et tempora rerum gestarum, et ita ex una confusione fierent plurimæ. Vicit, inquam, eorum improbitas ut edi permitterem. Accessit simul voluntas et imperium illustrissimi principis nostri Johannis Friderici Electoris, &c., qui jussit, imo coëgit typographos non solum excudere sed et maturare editionem.

Sed ante omnia oro pium lectorem, et oro propter ipsum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut ista legat cum judicio, imo cum multa miseratione. Et sciat me fuisse aliquando monachum et Papistam insanissimum cum istam causam aggressus sum, ita ebrium, imo submersum in dogmatibus Papæ, ut paratissimus fuerim omnes, si potuissem, occidere, aut occidentibus cooperari et consentire, qui Papæ vel una syllaba obedientiam detractarent. Tantus eram Saulus, ut sunt adhuc multi. Non eram ita glacies et frigus ipsum in defendendo papatu, sicut fuit Eccius et sui similes, qui mihi ferius propter suum ventrem Papam

defendere videbantur, quam quod serio rem agerent, imo ridere mihi Papam adhuc hodie videntur, velut Epicuræi; ego serio rem agebam, ut qui diem extremum horribiliter timui, et tamen salvus fieri ex intimis medullis cupiebam.

Ita invenies in istis meis scriptis prioribus quam multa et magna humillime concesserim Papæ, quæ posterioribus et istis temporibus pro summa blasphemia et abominatione habeo et execror. Dabis ergo hunc errorem, pie lector, vel, ut ipsi calumniantur, antilogiam, tempori et imperitiæ meæ. Solus primo eram, et certe ad tantas res tractandas ineptissimus et indoctissimus, casu enim, non voluntate nec studio, in has turbas incidi, Deum ipsum testor.

Igitur cum anno M.D.XVII. Indulgentiæ in his regionibus venderentur (promulgarentur volui dicere), turpissimo quæstu, ego tunc eram concionator, juvenis, ut dicitur, doctor theologiæ, et cœpi dissuadere populis et eos dehortari, ne indulgentiariorum clamoribus aurem præberent, habere eos meliora quæ facerent, et in iis certus mihi videbar me habiturum patronum Papam, cujus fiducia tum fortiter nitebar, qui in suis Decretis clarissime damnat quæstorum (ita vocat indulgentiarios prædicatores) immodestiam.

Mox scripsi Epistolas duas, alteram ad Moguntinensem archiepiscopum Albertum, qui dimidium pecuniæ ex Indulgentiis habebat, alterum dimidium Papa, id quod tunc nesciebam, alteram ad Ordinarium, ut vocant, loci episcopum Brandenburgensem, Hieronymum, rogans, ut compesceret quæstorum impudentiam et blasphemiam. Sed pauperculus Frater condemnabatur. Ego contemptus edidi disputationis schedulam simul et Germanicam concionem de indulgentiis, paulo post etiam resolutiones, in quibus pro honore Papæ hoc agebam, ut indulgentiæ non damnarentur quidem, sed bona opera caritatis illis præferrentur.

Hoc erat cælum deturbasse et mundum incendio consumpsisse. Accusor apud Papam, mittitur citatio mei ad Urbem, et consurgit totus papatus in me unicum. Hæc aguntur anno M.D.XVIII. sub comitiis Maximiliani Augustæ celebratis, in quibus agebat legatum a latere pontificis Cardinalis Caietanus, quem Dux illustrissimus Saxonie Fridericus, Elector Princeps, causa mei adiit et impetravit ne Romam cogeret ire; sed ipse, me vocato, rem cognoscere et componeret. Mox soluta sunt comitia.

Interim, quia fessi erant Germani omnes ferendis expilationibus, nundinationibus et infinitis imposturis Romanensium nebulonum, suspensis animis expectabant eventum tantæ rei, quam nullus antea neque Episcopus neque Theologus ausus esset attingere. Et fovebat me utcumque aura ista popularis, quod invisæ jam essent omnibus artes et Romanationes illæ, quibus totum orbem impleverant et fatigaverant.

Veni igitur pedester et pauper Augustam, stipatus sumptibus et literis

Principis Friderici ad senatum et quosdam bonos viros commendatitiis. Triduo eram ibi antequam accederem Cardinalem, prohibebant enim viri illi optimi et dissuadebant summis viribus, ne citra saluum-conductum Cæsaris Cardinalem adirem, licet ille me singulis diebus per quendam oratorem vocaret. Erat hic mihi satis molestus, ut tantum revocarem cum essent omnia salva. Sed longa est injuria, longæ ambages.

Tandem tertio die venit expostulans, cur non accederem Cardinalem, qui benignissime me expectaret? Respondi, mihi obtemperandum esse consiliis optimorum virorum, quibus essem a Principe Friderico commendatus, esse autem eorum consilium ne ullo modo absque tutela Cæsaris seu fide publica Cardinalem accederem; qua impetrata agebant autem illi apud Senatum Cæsareum, ut impetrarent, mox essem accessurus. Hic commotus ille, "Quid," inquit, "putas Principem Fridericum propter te arma sumpturum?" Dixi, "Hoc nollem prorsus." "Et ubi manebis?" Respondi, "Sub cœlo." Tum ille, "Si tu Papam et Cardinales in potestate tua haberes, quid esses facturus?" "Omnem," inquam, "reverentiam et honorem exhibiturus." Tum ille gestu Italico movens digitum dixit, "Hem!" et sic abiit, neque reversus est.

Eo die denunciavit Senatus Cæsareus Cardinali mihi esse datam Cæsaris tutelam, seu fidem publicam, admonens ne quid asperius in me designaret. Hic fertur respondisse, "Bene est, ego tamen faciam quod mei officii fuerit." Hæc fuere principia istius turbæ; cetera ex actis infra cognosci potuerunt.

Eodem anno jam M. Philippus Melancthon a Principe Friderico vocatus huc fuerat ad docendas literas Græcas, haud dubie ut haberem socium laboris in theologia. Nam quid operatus sit Dominus per hoc organum, non in literis tantum, sed in theologia, satis testantur ejus opera, etiam si irascatur Satan et omnes squamæ ejus.

Anno sequente XIX. decessit in Februario Maximilianus, et factus est jure imperii vicarius Dux Fridericus; tum desiit paululum sævire tempestas, et sensim obrepsit contemptus Excommunicationis, seu fulminis papistici. Nam cum Eccius et Carracciolus ex Urbe attulissent bullam damnatricem Lutheri, eamque insinuassent, ille hic, iste illic, Duci Friderico, qui Coloniae tum erat, Carolum recens electum cum aliis principibus suscepturus, indignissime tulit et magna fortitudine et constantia objurgabat pontificium illum nebulonem, quod, se absente, perturbassent ipse et Eccius ditiones fratris Johannis et suam, et exagitabat eos magnifice, ita ut cum rubore et dedecore ab eo discederent. Intellexit Princeps ingenio incredibili præditus artes Romanæ curiæ et eos digne tractare novit; erat enim enunectissimæ naris, et plus et longius olfaciebat quam Romanenses aut sperare aut timere potuerant.

Itaque deinceps ab eo tentando abstinebant; nam et Rosam quam vocant Auream eodem anno ei a Leone X. missam nullo honore dignatus

est, imo pro ridiculo habuit, ita desperari coacti sunt Romanistæ a studiis fallendi tanti principis. Et procedebat feliciter Evangelium sub umbra tanti Principis et late propagabatur; movebat ejus autoritas plurimos, qui cum esset sapientissimus et oculatissimus Princeps non poterat nisi apud invidos suspicionem incurrere, quod hæresin aut hæreticos vellet alere et tueri, quæ res papatui magnum intulit detrimentum.

Eodem anno habita est disputatio Lipsiæ, ad quam Eccius nos duos Carlstadium et me provocavit; sed ego nullis literis potui impetrare fidem a Duce Georgio, ita ut non disputator sed spectator futurus sub fide Carlstadio data, Lipsiam ingrederer. Quis autem me impedierit ignoro, nam adhuc erat Dux Georgius mihi non iniquus, quod scribam certo.

Hic Eccius me accessit in hospitio dicens, sese audisse me detrectare disputationem. Respondi, "Quomodo disputare potero, cum nequeo impetrare fidem a Duce Georgio?" Ille, "Si tecum," inquit, "non licet disputare, neque cum Carlstadio volo, propter te enim huc veni. Quod si ego tibi fidem impetravero, nunquid disputabis mecum?" "Impetra," inquam, "et fiet." Abiit ille, et mox data est mihi quoque fides publica, et facta copia disputandi.

Faciebat hoc Eccius, quia certam sibi gloriam propositam cernebat, propter Propositionem meam, in qua negabam Papam esse jure divino Caput Ecclesiæ. Hic patuit ei campus magnus, et occasio summa plausibiliter adulandi et gratiam Pontificis emerendi, tum odio et invidia me obruendi; quod strenue fecit per totam disputationem. Nec tamen sua confirmavit, nec mea confutavit; ita ut ipse Dux Georgius inter prandendum ad Eccium et me diceret, "Sive sit jure humano, sive divino, Papa, ipse est Papa." Quod verbum nisi argumentis fuisset motus, nequaquam dixisset, sed Eccium solum probasset.

Atque hic vide, vel in meo casu, quam difficile sit eluctari et emergere ex erroribus, totius orbis exemplo firmatis et longa consuetudine velut in naturam mutatis. Quam verum est proverbium, Difficile est consueta relinquere. Et, Consuetudo est altera natura; et, quam vere dicit Augustinus, Consuetudo, si non ei resistitur, fit necessitas. Ego, qui jam tunc sacras literas diligentissime privatim et publice legeram et docueram per septem annos, ita ut memoriter pene omnia tenerem, deinde primitias cognitionis et fidei Christi hauseram, scilicet, non operibus sed fide Christi nos justos et salvos fieri; denique id, de quo loquor, Papam non esse jure divino Caput Ecclesiæ, jam defendebam publice. Tamen id, quod consequens erat, non vidi, scilicet, Papam necessario esse ex diabolo; quod enim ex Deo non est, necesse est ex diabolo esse.

Sic absorptus eram, ut dixi, tum exemplo et titulo sanctæ ecclesiæ, tum consuetudine propria, ut Papæ concederem jus humanum, quod tamen, si non sit fultum auctoritate divina, mendacium et diabolicum est.

Nam parentibus et magistratibus paremus, non quia ipsi præcipiunt, sed qua sic est voluntas Dei, 1 Pet. ii. Hinc est quod minus iniquo animo ferre possumus eos qui pertinacius in papatu hærent, præsertim quia sacra vel etiam profana non legerunt, cum ego tot annis sacra legens diligentissime tamen ita hæsi tenaciter.

Anno M.D.XIX. misit Rosam Leo X. ut dixi, per Carolum Miltitium, qui multis egit mecum ut Papæ reconcilarer. Is habuit 70 Brevia Apostolica, ut si Princeps Fridericus illi me traderet, sicut Papa per Rosam quærebat, per singula oppida affigeret unum, et ita tutus me perduceret Romam. Prodebat autem coram me consilium cordis sui, dicens, "O Martine! ego credebam te esse senem aliquem theologum, qui post fornacem sedens ita secum disputasset; nunc video te esse adhuc integrum ætate et validum. Si haberem 25 millia armatorum, non confiderem te posse a me Romam perducì; exploravi enim per totum iter animos hominum quid de te sentirent, ecce! ubi unum pro Papa stare inveni, tres pro te contra Papam stabant." Illud vero ridiculum erat; exploraverat enim mulierculas et virgines in hospitibus quidnam de Sede Romana sentirent? Illæ, ut ignaræ hujus vocabuli et sellam domesticam cogitantes, respondebant, "Quid nos scire possumus quales vos Romæ habeatis sellas, ligneasne, an lapideas?"

Rogabat itaque ut consulerem ea quæ pacis essent, se omnem daturum operam ut Papa idem faceret. Ego prolixè quoque promisi omnia, quæ ullo modo salva conscientia veritatis possem, promptissime essem factururus; me quoque esse pacis cupidum et studiosum, qui per vim tractus in has turbas necessitate adactus fecissem omnia quæ feci, culpam non esse meam.

Vocaverat autem ad se Johannem Tetzeliū, Prædicatorii ordinis, auctorem primum hujus tragædiæ, et verbis minisque Pontificis ita fregit hominem, hactenus terribilem cunctis et imperterritum clamatorem, ut inde contabesceret, et tandem ægritudine animi conficeretur. Quem ego, ubi hoc rescivi, ante obitum literis benigne scriptis consolatus sum, ac jussi animo bono esse, nec mei memoriam metueret. Sed conscientia et indignatione Papæ forte occubuit.

Futilis habebatur Carolus, et futile ejus consilium; sed meo judicio, si Moguntinus a principio, cum a me admoneretur, denique si Papa antequam me non auditum damnaret et Bullis suis sæviret, hoc cepissent consilium quod Carolus cepit, licet sero, et statim compescuisset Tetzelianum furem, non evasisset res in tantum tumultum. Sola culpa est Moguntini, cujus sapientia et astutia eum fecellit, quia voluit meam doctrinam compescere, et suam pecuniam, per Indulgentias quasitam, esse salvam. Nunc frustra quærentur consilia, frustra coguntur studia. Dominus evigilavit et stat ad judicandum populos; etiam si non occidere possent, non tamen haberent quod volunt, imo minus haberent

quam nobis vivis et salvis habent. Id quod nonnulli inter eos, qui non omnino obesæ naris sunt, satis olfaciunt.

Interim eo anno jam redieram ad Psalterium denuo interpretandum, fretus eo quod exercitator essem postquam S. Pauli Epistolas ad Romanos, ad Galatas et eam, quæ est ad Hebræos, tractassem in Scholis, miro certe ardore captus fueram cognoscendi Pauli in Epistola ad Romanos. Sed obstiterat hactenus, non frigidus circum præcordia sanguis, sed unicum vocabulum, quod est cap. i. "Justitia Dei revelatur in illo." Oderam enim vocabulum istud, "Justitia Dei," quod usu et consuetudine omnium Doctorum doctus eram philosophice intelligere de justitia, ut vocant, formali, seu activa, qua Deus est justus, et peccatores injustosque punit.

Ego autem qui me, utcumque irreprehensibilis monachus vivebam, sentirem coram Deo esse peccatorem inquietissimæ conscientiæ, nec mea satisfactione placatum confidere possem, non amabam, imo odiebam justum et peccatores punientem Deum, tacitaque si non blasphemia certe ingenti murmuratione indignabar Deo, dicens, "Quasi vero non satis sit miseros peccatores et æteraliter perditos peccato originali omni genere calamitatis oppressos esse per legem Decalogi, nisi Deus per Evangelium dolorem dolori adderet, et etiam per Evangelium nobis justitiam et iram suam intentaret! Furebam ita sæve et perturbata conscientia, pulsabam tamen importunus eo loco Paulum, ardentissime sitiens scire quid S. Paulus vellet.

Donec, misere Deo, meditabundus dies et noctes connexionem verborum attenderem, nempe, Justitia Dei revelatur in illo, sicut scriptum est, "Justus ex fide vivit." Ibi justitiam Dei cœpi intelligere eam, qua justus dono Dei vivit, nempe ex fide; et hanc esse sententiam, revelari per Evangelium justitiam Dei, scilicet, passivam, qua nos Deus misericors justificat per fidem, sicut scriptum est, "Justus ex fide vivit." Hic me prorsus renatum esse sensi, et apertis portis in ipsum Paradisum intrasse. Ibi continuo alia mihi facies totius Scripturæ aperuit. Discurrebam deinde per Scripturas, ut habebat memoria, et colligebam etiam in aliis vocabulis Analogiam, ut Opus Dei, id est, quod operatur in nobis Deus: Virtus Dei, qua nos potentes facit; Sapientia Dei, qua nos sapientes facit; Fortitudo Dei, Salus Dei, Gloria Dei.

Jam quanto odio vocabulum, "Justitia Dei," oderam ante, tanto amore dulcissimum mihi vocabulum extollebam, ita mihi iste locus Pauli vere fuit porta Paradisi. Postea legebam Augustinum De Spiritu et Litera, ubi præter spem offendi quod et ipse Justitiam Dei similiter interpretatur, qua nos Deus induit, dum nos justificat. Et quanquam imperfecte hoc adhuc sit dictum, ac de imputatione non clare omnia explicet, placuit tamen justitiam Dei doceri, qua nos justificemur.

His cogitationibus armatior factus cœpi Psalterium secundo interpre-

tari, et processit opus in magnum Commentarium, nisi denuo per Comitia Caroli V. Imperatoris WORMATIAM sequenti anno vocatus, opus cœptum deferre fuisset coactus.

Hæc ideo narro, optime lector, ut si lecturus es opuscula mea, memor sis, me unum fuisse, ut supra dixi, ex illis, qui, ut Augustinus de se scribit, scribendo et docendo profecerint, non ex illis, qui de nihilo repente fiunt summi, cum nihil sint, neque operati, neque tentati, neque experti; sed ad unum intuitum Scripturæ totum spiritum ejus exhaustiunt.

Hactenus ad annum M.D.XX. et XXI. processit res indulgentiaria, post sequuntur res Sacramentariæ et Anabaptistæ, de quibus in aliis tomis, si vixero, præfandum est.

Vale, lector, in Domino, et ora pro incremento Verbi, adversus Satanam qui potens et malus est, nunc etiam furentissimus et sævissimus, sciens quoniam breve tempus habet, et regnum sui Papæ periclitatur. Confirmet autem Deus hoc in nobis quod operatus est, et perficiat opus suum, quod incepit in nobis ad gloriam suam.—AMEN.

v Martii, Anno M.D.XLV.

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